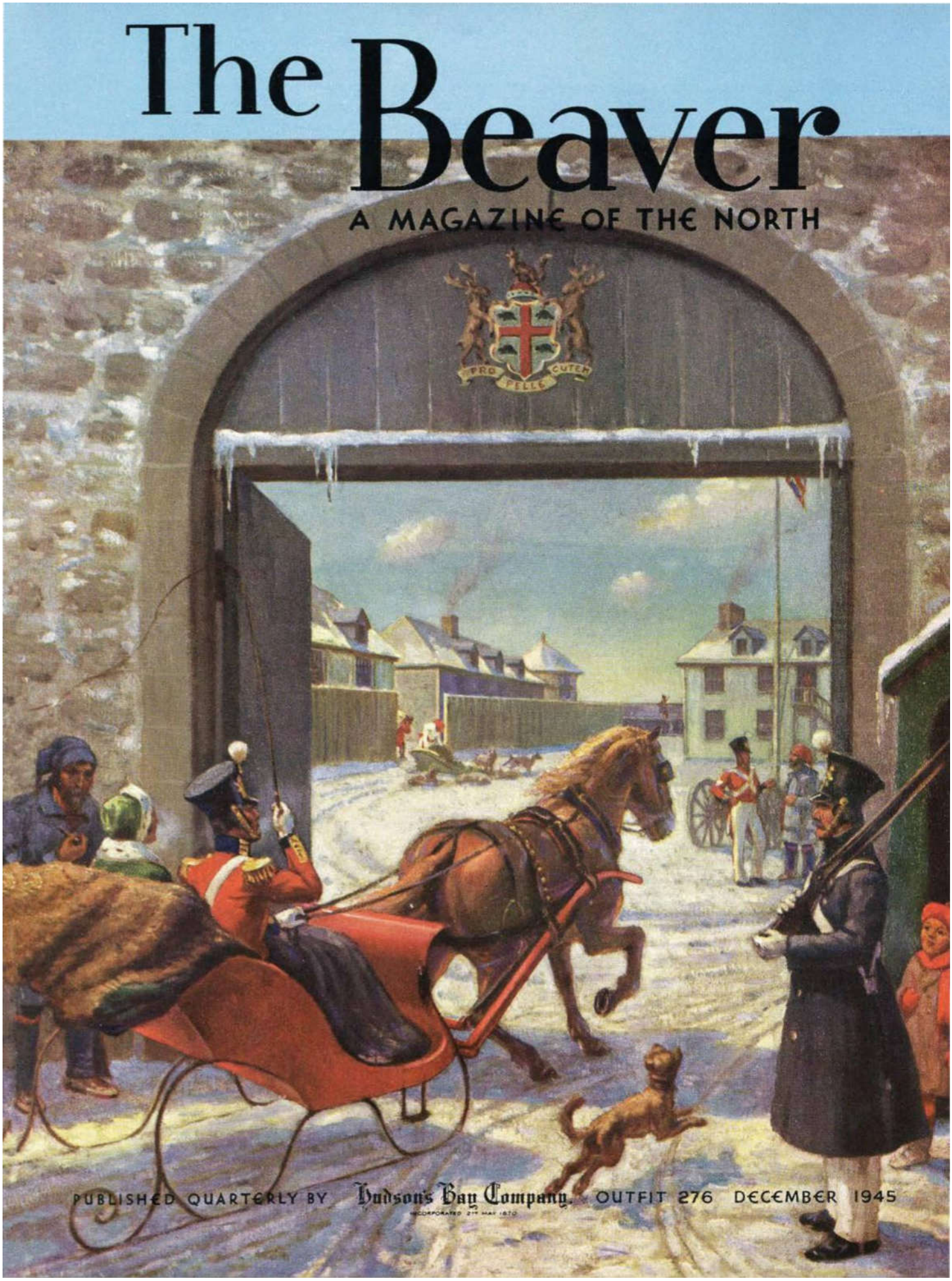
The Beaver

A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH



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Christmas in the Arctic. Left to right: Father LeMer, Gibby Brough (radio operator), Mrs. Brough, Cst. Hadley, R.C.M.P.; Don Burr, Father Metier. Taken at Coppermine post by L. A. Learmonth.

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ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE Hudson's Bay Company. WINNIPEG, CANADA

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Group at Fort Pitt in 1884, posed for an itinerant photographer named Saul. Left to right: Angus McKay, with beaver skin; Otto Dufresne, Louis Goulet, Stanley Simpson, Cst. "Sandy" McDonald, Cpl. R. B. Sleigh, on Red River cart; Henry Dufresne. Sitting: Cst. G. W. Rowley, holding carrot of tobacco; Cst. H. A. Edmonds. The object that looks like a pile of cookies is apparently the remains of a reel or "seron" of roll tobacco. Other trade goods are a white point blanket and a keg of powder.

CHRISTMAS at FORT PITT

by W. Bleasdell Cameron

CHRISTMAS was coming to old Fort Pitt on the North Saskatchewan, still in that year of 1884 an outpost of the white man's civilization, and preparations were afoot to celebrate in becoming manner, according to custom, that time-honoured festival of peace on earth, good will toward men.

Under the supervision of beloved and motherly Mrs. McLean, the chief trader's wife, and her three comely daughters, Otto Dufresne, the white-haired diminutive French-Canadian "Company" cook (*Muskawatchakoos*, or "The Little Oak," to the Crees because of his remarkable strength) had outdone himself. There was delicious wild rice soup, roast young beaver, tender and succulent as lamb, which it much resembled; roast prairie chickens and partridges, berry pemmican, pies, cakes and of course the one item lacking which no Christmas dinner could be complete—a royal plum pudding with brandy sauce.

Then there were the decorations: The walls of the dining-room draped in white and navy blue, with sprays and festoons of spruce intertwining cross arms of muskets and revolvers; four wreaths of spruce enclosing the symbols "H.B.C.," "N.W.M.P.," "I.D." (Indian Department) and "Our Guests," worked in scarlet monograms; and on a background of the Union Jack and the Hudson's Bay Company flag, in white lettering, the words "Welcome," "Merry Christmas" and "Happy New Year." In the room of the unobtainable holly, there were cranberries *au branche* from the neighbouring muskeg. Not even the mistletoe had been forgotten, bunched clippings of Saskatoon twigs replacing that osculatory indispensable. A large star of *sapin* over the centre of the room completed a list of decorations at once pleasing, tasteful and characteristic of the season and the country.

The glorious day opened with the established all-round matutinal greetings among the members of the isolated little community and calls by the personnel of the North West Mounted Police detachment, who were quartered in Company buildings, on Chief

Trader W. J. McLean and his numerous family. Then there were gifts to the little ones of the brood from individual friends among the *chemoginusuk*. Everybody and his wife received a welcoming handshake and a serving of the refreshments provided by the Company's head in "The Big House."

Following breakfast, Stanley Simpson, the Company's accountant at the fort, was tying on his snowshoes preparatory to making the round of his trap line, lying along the towering hills overlooking Pitt across the river, and of course I needed no invitation to join him. Climbing the steep banks to the heights above, a mile or two to the east, we reached the first trap, which we found had not been disturbed. Two miles farther on we took from the second trap a prime red fox, and before reaching the end of the line we picked up two more, one red, the other a finely marked cross fox. So Stanley's trap line was paying dividends. I should make it plain that in some districts the officer in charge encouraged the employees to set out trap lines in their spare time, and so add to their wages as well as to the yearly returns of the district itself, for of course their catches of fur were always sold to the Company.

Stanley led the whole seven-mile run. He was a strong athletic young fellow of about my own age, tireless and fast afoot. At the annual sports day at Battleford the previous summer he had been matched to race a half-breed called "Northwest" who held the N.W.T. record for the distance in the three-quarter-mile event. Coming into the home stretch Simpson, who was trailing his opponent, stumbled and fell full length to the ground, and there were groans of dismay from his partisans, who at once concluded that the race was over. But Simpson was on his feet again like a flash, and in a burst of speed that brought cheer on cheer from the side lines he overhauled and passed the half-breed and romped across the tape a winner.

Stanley also had an amazingly strong grip. He was the only man I ever knew who could place a double-spring beaver trap on his knee and set it, using his hands alone. Ordinarily a trapper placed the trap on the ground and pressed the springs down either side by standing on them; then bending over to raise the pan and set it.

We arrived back at the fort just in time to shed our snowshoes and make ourselves presentable before joining the big Company family and its guests at the Christmas dinner. One of the guests at the table, I should mention, was Captain Francis Dickens, son of the novelist, in command of the Fort Pitt detachment, N.W.M.P., in which he held the rank of inspector.

Dinner over, we adjourned to the office, where Manila cheroots—an article of commerce at that date imported and stocked by the Hudson's Bay Company—were passed around by our host.

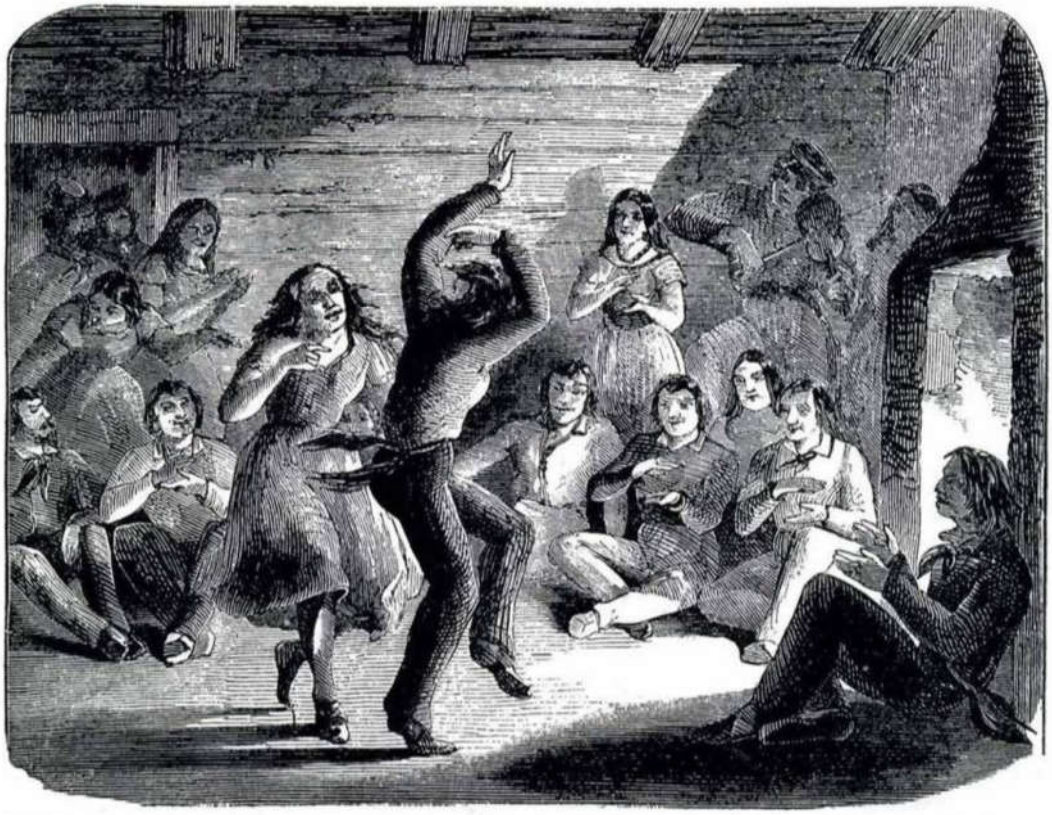
Then, "according to plan," we divided into two competing groups for the rabbit hunt, which was an important feature on the day's programme. One party was headed by the chief trader, the other—if memory serves me—by Angus McKay. All the grown-ups in the large McLean family, including the three eldest girls, "shouldered arms" like veteran troopers and marched forth to "The Battle of the Bunnies." I cannot recall which side got the larger number, but I know we had a lot of fun, snowballing and racing, while not overlooking the main object of potting the prey.

I may explain that every so often in the park-like north country, the rabbits become very numerous, and then suddenly die off, so that few are left in the following year to carry on production. But they soon again begin to multiply, and start another cycle of mounting increases. This must have been the peak year of one of these cycles, for I never saw rabbits more plentiful, and the red willow everywhere was stripped of its bark for a height of two feet or more above the snow.

In those short December days the sun "went out," as the Indians say, early, and it was nearly nightfall when we called off the contest and returned to the fort and another sumptuous meal. After we had satisfied our appetites—which had razor-like edges following our tramp and frolics in the biting winter air—and had enjoyed more cheroots in the office, we returned to the reception room in the Big House and played "Post Office," "Pass the Button" and other games or cards, sang songs and thrummed guitars and the piano, to round out a day crammed full of merry-making and excitement.

Although December 25th in the old Northwest was observed in the true Christmas spirit, the day to which all looked forward with keenest anticipation was New Year, beginning with the evening before. In short, it was the day of the year in which young and old really

Fort Pitt stood from 1829 to 1885 beside the north Saskatchewan about six miles east of the present Alberta border. *R.C.M.P.*



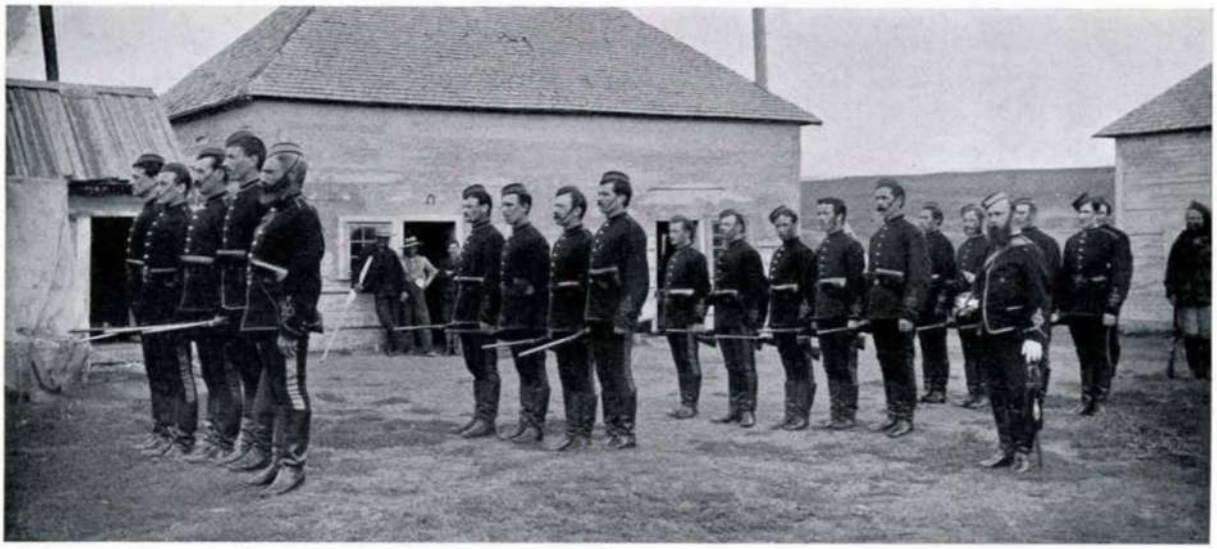
Red River jig, from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1860. Mr. Cameron explains that in his day the dancers were more sedate than they appear here.

let themselves go. This was the situation at old Fort Pitt on New Year's Eve, 1884. First we sat down to another gorgeous dinner, but in the afternoon we just "lazed" about, reserving our energy for the evening and the grand ball in the dining room of the Big House which would climax the holiday festivities.

The Christmas decorations were still in place and soon after supper the guests began to arrive. Besides those resident in the fort and its surroundings, others came from quite distant points. These included: From Frog Lake (35 miles away), Indian Agent Tom Quinn and his large Cree wife; his nephew, Henry Quinn; James K. Simpson, supervisor of the Company's winter outposts in that locality; John Delaney, government farm instructor, and Mrs. Delaney; Charles Gouin, Indian Department employee; John Fitzpatrick, farm instructor to the Chipewyans at Beaver River (75 miles from Pitt); Corporal R. B. Sleigh, N.W.M.P., in charge of the Frog Lake six-man detail (and incidentally a near relative of "Bobs," Britain's famous general, Lord Roberts), and myself. From Onion Lake (distant 20 miles), G. G. Mann, farm instructor to the Indian bands there, and Mrs. Mann; Rev. Charles Quinney, Anglican missionary, and Mrs. Quinney; and a number of visitors from Battleford, 95 miles from Fort Pitt. Then, from the fort itself: Captain Dickens, Dr. Rolph, Sergeant Martin, and others of the N.W.M.P. stationed at Pitt; Chief Trader W. J. McLean, his family and staff, including Angus McKay, Stanley Simpson and a clerk whose name I have forgotten; Francois Dufresne and Isidore Pambrun, H B C employees. This completes the list of those assembled for the great occasion. I should mention that this New Year entertainment was planned and carried out by the non-commissioned officers and men of the Mounted Police detachment in return for courtesies extended to them at Christmas by Mr. McLean and his family. The Company, however, assisted by providing the room for the dance, and in other ways.

By half-past eight the ball-room was packed to capacity by a crowd of voluble celebrants on tiptoe with excitement and expectancy: the big event of the year was about to open, for they lived for the most part lives of loneliness and isolation and rarely had an opportunity to attend such gatherings or to meet so many of their friends. And now the first dance was about to begin.

The master of ceremonies then announced it, the Lancers; the couples took their pieces, "Professor" Patsy Carroll mounted his "podium," rapped for attention, and with a flourish of his baton and a crash of melody, Fort Pitt's grand New Year ball was in full swing and away. From this time forward the gaiety was fast and unconfined. With hardly any intermission dance followed dance—and there were a lot of them. Some I remember: cotillions, reels de huit, polkas, reels de quatre, gallops, hornpipes, schottisches, Drops of Brandy, waltzes, Scotch reels, the Duck dance, Circassian circles, the Highland fling—in which the chief trader distinguished himself—and others the names of which have slipped my memory. And the calling off—"*Balance to your partner!*" "*Allaman left!*" "*Elbow swing as you go!*" "*Everybody dance!*" Great fun, all of it! But there is one dance I have never forgotten and never shall—the Red River jig. It was famous in the old days of the Northwest and is to my mind one of the prettiest of dances, even



The Fort Pitt detachment of the N.W.M.P. on parade in 1884. Mr. Cameron identifies some of them as follows: In sections, left to right: (1) ?, J. Tector, "Sandy" McDonald, ?, Sgt. John Martin. (2) J. Quigley, W. W. Smith, R. Hobbs, ?. (3) Cpl. Sleigh, G. Leonais, L. O'Keefe, P. Carroll, ?. (4) R. Ince, B. Robertson, ?, J. Macdonald. The officer is Capt. Dickens, son of the novelist.

if its most adept exponents are the native half-breeds. Let me try to give an impression of it:

A young half-breed leads a coy, dark-skinned little native out to the centre of the floor. The fiddler, head bowed, his long, raven-black locks hiding his face, throws back his head, his hair flies over and on to his shoulders, his fiddle screeches. The young man bows to his partner and then, facing each other, with hands clasped, on twinkling moccasinned feet, away they go, the whole length of the room and back. Now they separate but, still facing, she with lowered eyes watching his feet, which seem scarcely to touch the floor, they whirl and circle, in a one-two-three measure, the fiddler meanwhile thumping time with his moccasinned feet. Presently a second young man, itching to display his proficiency, steps with his partner to the centre of the floor, "cuts out" the first and on goes the dance, not a single step having been missed, until the fiddler stops from sheer exhaustion.

But no—this does not do! Immediately there are shouts from the bystanders—"*Apeeta! Apeeta!* (Half! Half!)" and the perspiring fiddler wipes his brow; again the fiddle screeches, he throws back his head, his feet pound the floor and the dance goes on until the second half has lasted as long as the first. It is a fine exhibition of rhythm, of dexterity, of dancing, and to watch it is to thrill with a sort of odd witchery. For some reason very few white men have learned to fiddle "The Jig."

As the clock strikes midnight, the music and the dancing stop abruptly and the men are invited to the office, where the chief trader produces—apparently from thin air like a magician—a bonnie big flask of Scotch. We all have a nip and drink to the departing year and a welcome to the one newly born.

Then back once more to the ball-room and refreshments and to the cotillions, the waltzes, the reels, three-steps, and polkas. The dance goes on until the night is old and everybody tired and ready—after voting the ball a magnificent success and thanks to the police and the Company for their hospitality—to join in making the rafters ring to the strains of "Auld Lang Syne" and in mutual Happy New Year wishes, to don their duffle and depart.

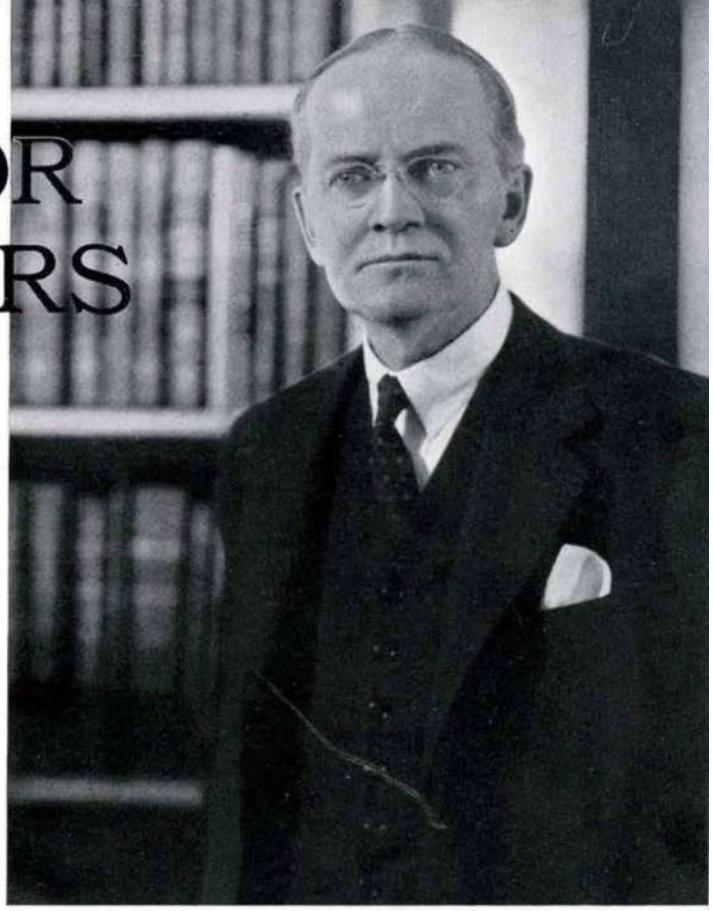
Where are the merrymakers of that joyous Christmas week at old Fort Pitt in 1884? Gone, long ago, most of them. Besides myself, I know of only five still living—Angus McKay, Miss Eliza McLean, and her three brothers Angus, Duncan and John. Tom Quinn died three months later when a bullet fired by that arch-assassin, Wandering Spirit, pierced his skull; Delaney from another bullet from the same quarter at the same time; Gouin perished with them. Corporal Sleigh fell at Cut Knife exactly one month following the massacre at Frog Lake, the first man killed in that fight; Captain Dickens died suddenly while visiting friends in Indiana in 1886; my beloved friend Stanley Simpson drowned in October 1892, in the icy waters of the Nelson River in an attempt to save the life of his superior officer, Chief Factor Horace Belanger, when their canoe upset in the turbulent Sea Falls.

Even Fort Pitt itself has gone—burned to the ground by the Indians in 1885, with the exception of one large two-storey building that unaccountably escaped. When the Company opened a post at Onion Lake, it was moved there, and to-day it still stands. On the inside of the door, written in lead pencil, is the name "G. W. Rowley, 1884."

The old squared-log Fort Pitt building that still stands at Onion Lake. *J. Denton*

HOBBY FOR BOOKLOVERS

by C. P. Wilson



D'Alton C. Coleman, chairman and president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the library where part of his fine collection of Canadiana is kept.

IN December 1934, *The Beaver* published a list of books dealing directly and indirectly with the Hudson's Bay Company. To the student and booklover unfamiliar with this field the list was something of a revelation. But it was still only a partial bibliography. For while the number of books dealing directly with the Company is limited, that having to do with books on the history of the North and West, with which the Company is indissolubly linked, is amazingly large. More and more book collectors in Canada are turning their attention to this field, which contains some rare and highly prized items. But only a few bibliophiles, by starting their collecting several years ago, have managed to build up some really impressive libraries in this line.

One of the best known collectors of such Canadiana is D'Alton C. Coleman, chairman and president of the Canadian Pacific Railway and a member of the Hudson's Bay Company's Canadian Committee. Mr. Coleman has been collecting these books for years and now, in his apartment high up on Mount Royal, overlooking the city of Montreal, as well as in his office at the Windsor Street Station, he has gathered together a library of Canadiana that makes the eyes of his fellow collectors gleam with admiration and envy.

His books may roughly be divided into Arctic, Western and Pacific Coast classifications. Under the last heading come the celebrated voyages of eighteenth century navigators who explored along the shores of what are now British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon. These include the voyages of Meares (1790), Etienne Marchand (three vols., London, 1801), Anson (Edinburgh, 1776), Portlock (London, 1789), Vancouver (three vols., London, 1798) and Cook. Of the last named, Mr. Coleman has the version by W. Ellis, the assistant surgeon, printed in two volumes in London, 1782, as well as the better known version printed in Newcastle in 1790, and including the journal of Capt. Furneaux.

Later books on this region include a memoir on the Northwest Coast of North America by Robert Greenhow, published by the U.S. Senate in 1840; "Travels in B.C." by Capt. C. E. Barrett-Lennard (London, 1862); "The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia" by John Keast Lord, naturalist with the B.N.A. boundary commission (London, 1866); and "Addresses and Memorials, etc., upon the Occasion of the Retirement of Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., from the Governorship of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1864," printed in Deal by Edward Hayward.

Mr. Coleman's Western Canadiana contain more books than either of the other two sections, and include some rare items, the rarest being a small paper-covered "Handbook of the New Gold Fields" describing the finds along the Thompson and Fraser Rivers, and edited by the famous author, R. M. Ballantyne. It was published in 1858, in Edinburgh by Alex Strahan, and in London by Hamilton Adams and Company.

Among the early Western travel books are fine copies of Alexander Henry's "Travels" (N.Y., 1809), Harmon's "Journal" (Andover, 1820), and Keating's "St. Peter's River" (London, 1825). The Selkirk controversy is represented by the "Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement of Kildonan upon the Red River in North America; its destruction in the years 1815 to 1816 and the massacre of Governor Semple and his party," which, though there is no mention of it in the book, is known to have been written by Selkirk's brother-in-law, John Halkett; and by the "Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America since the connexion of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, etc." (London, 1817).

Later books of Western travel include two rare Palliser items. One of these is his reports for 1857 to 1860, printed in London in 1863. The other is an extract from the "Journal" of the Royal Geographical Society for 1860, containing four of his letters, the first dated at Fort Garry in May 1858, the second at Fort Carlton, and the third and fourth at Fort Edmonton, Saskatchewan, in October 1858 and January 1859.

Rebellion items include Huyshe's "Red River Expedition"; the souvenir number of the "Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News," containing a history of the Northwest Rebellion, published in Toronto, July 4, 1885; the rare "Winnipeg War Sketches"

published by the Bishop Engraving and Printing Co. of Winnipeg in the same year; and the governmental "Report of the Medical Men appointed to enquire into the mental condition of Louis Riel." Mr. Coleman is also the proud possessor of the two 1870 Riel Insurrection proclamations which were reproduced in *The Beaver* for June 1941.

Of manuscript western items, the most interesting is a letter from Henry Youle Hind to Sandford Fleming, dated at Windsor, September 5th, 1876:

My dear Fleming,
Elder of the Telegraph promises to send you regularly the letters I have written about Forest Conservancy in relation to the Canada Pacific Railway to which I alluded in my last 4 letters have appeared there will be one or two more. If you do not get all please notify me and they shall be forwarded.
The subject is likely to [be] brought well out this winter in England I suppose by some parties interested in the Land question and in the Hudson Bay Company there.
There are as you know two parties in the Company—one who are in favour of the fur trade as the source of income, the other who look to the Land and who wish the Can. Pac. Rail. to pass through the best country for settlement.
Southworth's[Southesk's?] statements are attracting much attention, and as he is an authority, they think they enhance the value of their Land in the North West.
Very truly yours
Sandford Fleming, Esq. HENRY Y. HIND.

Perhaps the finest of all Mr. Coleman's books are to be found in the Arctic section. Chief among the printed works is a set of six volumes, all in beautifully tooled uniform bindings, of Parry's four Arctic Voyages. There is the first voyage of 1819-20, with its supplement; the second voyage of 1822-23 with its appendix; the third of 1824-5, and the "Attempt to Reach the North Pole" of 1827. This last is a rare and little-known item which is a real prize for the booklover. Another account of the third voyage is found in the "Private Journal" of Capt. G. F. Lyon, of H.M.S. *Hecla*.

Ross's voyages of 1819 and 1829-33 are here, together with a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the account of the late voyage of discovery to Baffin's Bay published by Captain J. Ross, R.N." by Capt. Edward Sabine, R.A., London, 1819. "The following pages," writes the army captain, "are designed solely to counteract the erroneous impression which a perusal of Capt. Ross's recent publication might produce concerning my employments, services and opinions during the late voyage."

Hudson's Bay Company Arctic explorers are represented by a fine copy of Hearne's Journey; Thomas Simpson's "Discoveries by Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company" and Alexander Simpson's "Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson" in beautiful companion bindings; and Dr. Rae's paper read before the Manitoba Historical Society in 1882, "The Arctic Regions and the Hudson's Bay Route." Another rare item in this field is William Scoresby, Jr.'s "Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale Fishery of West Greenland," made in 1812 (Edinburgh, 1823).

Books on the Franklin relief expeditions include Goodsir's "Arctic Voyage" (1850), the "Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the Northwest Passage" by Alexander Armstrong, surgeon of H.M.S. *Investigator* (1857), Belcher's two volume "Arctic Voyages," illustrated by coloured plates (1855); and the government publication, "Further Correspondence and Proceedings connected with the Arctic Expeditions presented to both Houses of Parliament," 1852.

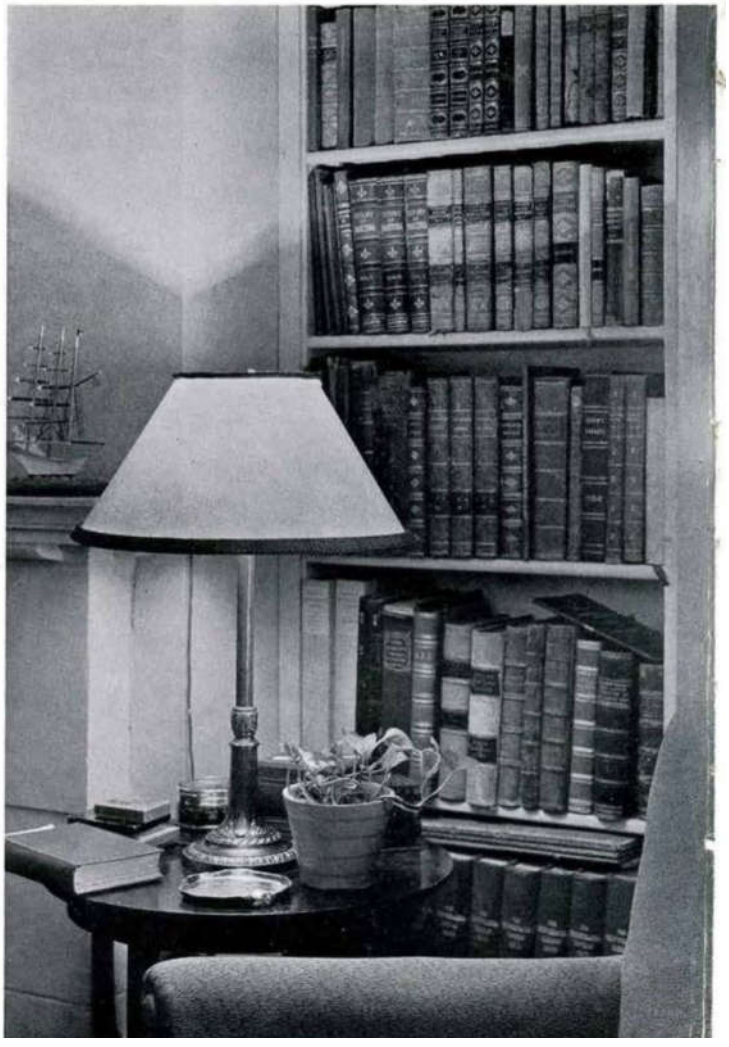
Mr. Coleman also owns an original letter written by Franklin to Back, dated at Pierre au Calumet, July 13, 1825, with an annotation by Back. It thus bears the autographs of two of the most famous Arctic explorers. But the outstanding manuscript item of the whole collection is the two-volume journal kept by Capt. Erasmus Ommanney of H.M.S. *Assistance*, from April 25, 1850, to August 31, 1851.

The journal begins with the departure from a Thames side dock of the *Assistance* and her companion ship *Resolute*. Sir Edward Parry visited them on May 1st, and the entry for that day contains the interesting information that the crews were on double pay, "the custom with all Arctic Expeditions." At the Orkneys on May 14 the entry states:

"Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Robertson dined with me, the former states that Sir Jno Franklin expressed himself as being very desirous of trying the passage thro' Jones Sound, and from a very strong expression made use of by him viz (that he was not going to sail by Parry's compass) there is every probability that he has attempted Jones Sound and failing there has tried Wellington Channel to make the passage north of the Parry Islands." Franklin, as it turned out, did not attempt Jones Sound, but did sail up through Wellington Channel and try to pass north of the Parry Islands.

Failing in this, he returned south, passing this time to the west of Cornwallis Island, and then heading

Most of Mr. Coleman's choicest Canadiana are in this bookcase. The two volumes of Ommanney's journals are in the top shelf, fourth and fifth from the left.



east through Barrow Strait, spent his first winter at Beechey Island.

It was near there that Captain Ommanney discovered the first traces of the expedition to be found by any of the search parties. We will let him tell of the discovery in his own words. The date is August 23, 1850:

> Crept through the ice along the shore within 1 mile of Cape Riley, where got access to the shore by stepping across a piece of land ice, having selected what appeared to be the most prominent point, I left a record with a beacon over it—and then ascended the height for the purpose of obtaining a view of Wellington Channel. The ascent was laborious, the land being of limestone formation, the sides of the mountain were composed of the debris crumbled away by the action of frost and snow—a footing could not be made. On reaching the summit, a cairn previously seen from below was distinct—the Wellington Channel was full of heavy pack ice, the Westn Coast from C. Hotham to C. Bowden was clearly seen, and the Leopold Island with Coast of North Somerset.
>
> The ice was slackening, and water had made up to Beechey Island—a deep bay extends Eastd from Beechey Island, meeting an Extension Valley. The Bay full of fixed ice—ice passing Cape Riley very rapidly to the Southd and Eastd. Descended the height and discovered a small bay facing Beechey Isld., with a single beach, between a low point and the face of the precipitous Headland which stands over C. Riley. Close to this beach I discovered the traces of an Encampment consisting of 3 circular tents, and one parallelogram—the mound of loose stones marking the boundary of the tents, and larger ones placed for roping them down. On examining the beach, I found some empty preserved meat tins, with Donkin's name, some fragments of towels, and clothing, part of the rim of a beaver hat, which had been punched for wadding, pieces of rope and sail cloth with the Dockyard mark, a piece of carpet, glass bottles, fragment of a blue worn plate, clay tobacco pipe, with remains of the weed in it, several pieces of other tin vessels—various bits of wood. I also found an iron bar 5 ft. in length, a long ash pole with a cross hand attached to it, therefrom some hooks of bent iron hoop apparently constructed for fishing.
>
> Having collected [these and] examined the locality, I decided upon proceeding to Beechey Isld. Here certainly were traces of our unfortunate countrymen, for who else can it be. Parry is the only person on record who ever visited this coast before—his officers merely landed for a few hours to obtain observations—that the party must have abandoned their ships is decisive from the Encampment.
>
> Can hardly say what period they were here, from the appearance of the ground, and materials collected, am of opinion two years ago at least—from the position of the spot, there must be a great rush when the thaws are active, there is a rise and fall of about 6 feet, and there is a heavy [?] of ice on the beach, by which recent traces would soon be obliterated.
>
> About 6.20 pm we returned on board "Intrepid" and pushed our way through close and heavy pieces of ice to Beechey Isld . . . ascended the heights and proceeded to the cairn, which was built on the summit of the Island commanding an extensive view, in a conspicuous position. Here was a cairn evidently constructed by human hands. It was about 6 feet. Our hopes were now raised to the highest pitch at the prospect of finding some document which would give some definite information of their situation when here. On examining it we found some duck shot placed on the larger stone which covered the cairn, then it was pulled down, but alas! no record! On closer search two pieces of stone were found which by some means had been ground to a polish, and ruled strait lines drawn thereon, apparently intended for an inscription. The two pieces had, I think, originally been connected, but the weight above it had fractured it.
>
> The ground was searched in all directions, one more preserved meat tin was found of a larger description than the others, the name of Goldner on it. Having made every possible search, we returned to the "Intrepid" by 11 pm, and returned towards the ship.

Two days later Captain Penny came on board the *Assistance* from one of the other ships. Captain Ommanney continues:

> Penny was quite overcome when I produced the relics which I had discovered at Cape Riley. He seemed quite unprepared for such a proof that some sad disaster had terminated Franklin's Expedition; he very properly said, it was useless all of being on the same ground [?] and decided to go and make a further search in the vicinity of Cape Riley—and we parted again. . . . I could not but feel greatly pleased at finding Penny had gone back to make a closer examination of the Bay about Beechey Isld., as from the nature of the materials we collected there is every probability of finding some further traces of the Erebus & Terror. My inclination had induced me to examine that Bay, but being in advance and every appearance of the straits being cleared by the northerly winds which blew last night, I judged it to be my duty to reach Cape Hotham without loss of time to search that point, in hopes of finding a record—particularly as Sir Jno. Ross states Sir J. Franklin told him before he left England that a record should be deposited on Cape Hotham. Perceiving the other Expeditions coming up, I was satisfied they would make a further search upon hearing of my discovery.

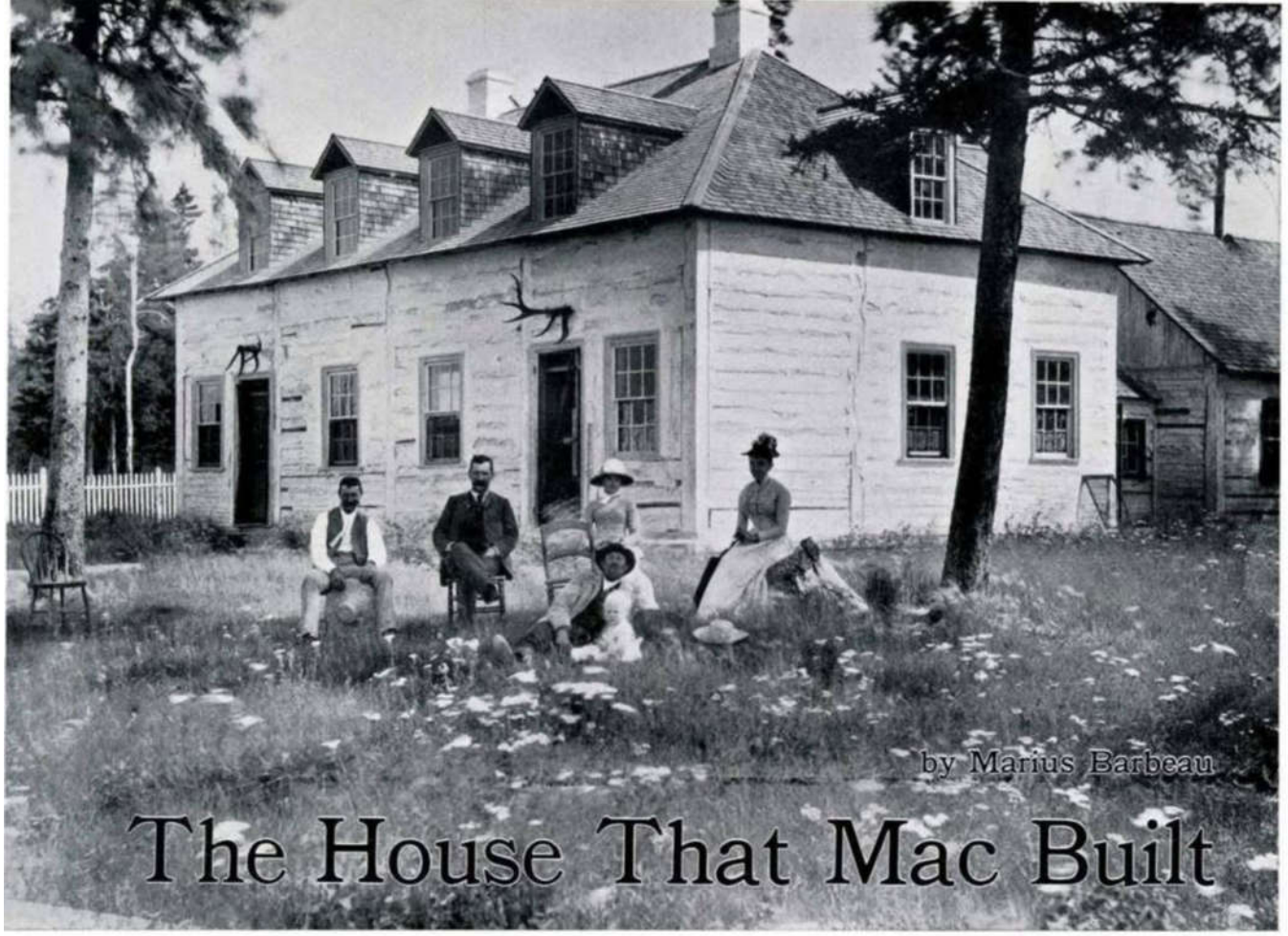
Captain Ommanney, as it turned out later, was wrong when he said that the party must have abandoned their ships at Beechey Island. Actually Franklin spent the winter of 1845 and 1846 at that place—then heading westwards again, through Barrow Strait, he turned south through Peel Sound. Opposite the northernmost tip of King William Island the *Erebus* and *Terror* were arrested by impenetrable ice. All the next winter they spent locked fast in the immovable white mass. Then as summer came around again, Sir John fell ill, and on June 11, 1847, he died.

No release came for the ships that year. They drifted a little way to the south and west and on April 22, 1848, the crews abandoned them and struck out across the ice for Victory Point on the northwest coast of King William Island. None of this, however, was known when Ommanney discovered the first traces of the expedition.

The journal's second volume begins on April 15, 1851, with the trip of H.M. Sledge *Reliance*. With a crew of seven, Ommanney searched to the southwest of Cape Walker for the missing expedition, returning on June 13 after travelling an estimated 480 miles. Three hundred and seventy-three hours were spent in actual travel, and 515 hours "detained by weather, snow blindness, searching, and other causes." Following this section are some enlightening remarks on provisions, clothing, equipment, and the topography of Cape Walker.

The journal recommences on April 19, 1852, in Ireland, later goes on to the Mediterranean, and finishes on February 25, 1860. The captain's penmanship was not of the best, especially when his ship was rolling and pitching across the Atlantic, and many of the words are almost indecipherable. But for anyone who had the interest and the patience to plough through it, this unpublished diary of Ommanney's attempt to find the missing expedition would surely make fascinating reading.

This glimpse into the private library of a discriminating collector of Canadiana will afford some idea of the wealth of material that is available to booklovers on the history of the Canadian North and West. In a few years' time great changes are looked for in the country of which these are the earliest records, and as our knowledge of those regions increases, the demand for such books should increase in proportion.



by Marius Barbeau

The House That Mac Built

A fine example of the "posts on the sill" type of squared-log house, built for the Company by Gideon Halcro at the end of the Grand Rapids tramway, central Manitoba. *Photo by J. B. Tyrrell, 1890.*

The log buildings erected by the North West Company and later by the Hudson's Bay Company in the North and West were not of the "log cabin" type. They originated in French Canada.

THE house that MacTavish built one hundred and fifty years ago for the demands of the fur trade in the northwest was not of the "log cabin" type. The log cabin, with round logs fitted together at the corners, originally belonged to the Scandinavians of Delaware Bay. As a mode of construction it spread westward into the woodlands only with the colonists of the early nineteenth century.

MacTavish from Montreal built a house that was of the traditional French type, long familiar to his partners and to the French-Canadian voyageurs and craftsmen in their employ. The French-Canadian ways of building wooden houses and dependencies were known as *poteaux sur sole* (posts in the sill), and *pieux en terre* (piles in the ground).

"Posts in the sill" was the more common type. It consisted of horizontal logs, usually squared, slid in grooves into position between squared uprights, which were planted by means of mortices into heavy squared logs forming a frame or sill for a foundation. This type, traditional among the voyageurs, went back to the *colombage* style of construction used in northern France, whence came most of the settlers of New France. The only difference between *colombage* and *poteaux sur sole* is that the empty spaces between the uprights were filled, in France, with stone, clay, and straw, whereas in Canada wood—everywhere abundant in the forested areas—answered the same purpose.

The *poteaux sur sole* houses originated in the French-Canadian colonies; in fact in parts of the Ottawa valley they are still being erected by some carpenters. The houses at the posts of the North West Company, and later of the Hudson's Bay Company, throughout

This diagram reveals the wall construction of the type of house shown above.

the northern and western wilderness, were all patterned after the same model, for their mode of construction depended upon the French-speaking craftsmen. Houses of this type were built by the fur traders from Labrador to Vancouver Island, and from the northern limit of trees to the lower Columbia.

The three wooden houses with stockades and bastions which David Thompson and his men built at Lake Windermere in the Rockies in 1807 could not have been of any other type, since their builders were of the same extraction—from Montreal and neighbourhood. These houses were strong and bullet-proof.

When Thompson received the perplexing visit from two Piegans who had crossed on foot the eastern range of the Rockies to prepare the ground for hostilities, he showed them the solid walls of logs, and gave a warning to the spies: "I know you have come for an evil purpose. You intend to destroy us, but many of you will die before you can hurt us. Go back to your country and tell your people the truth."

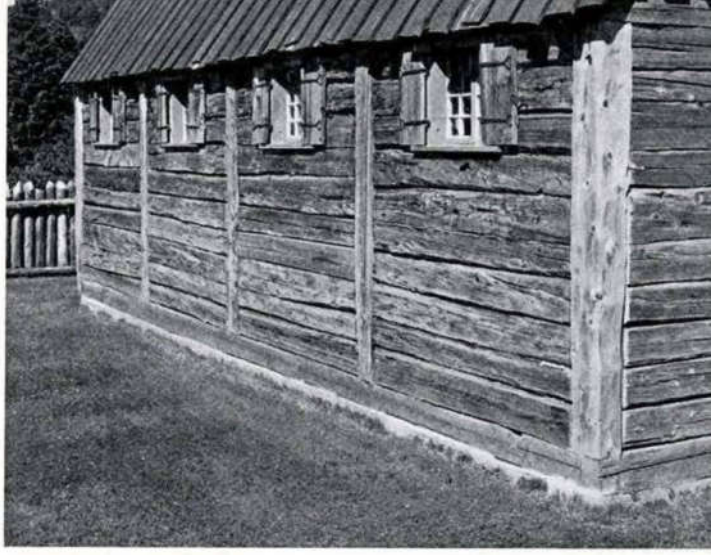
Piegan raiders later camped in front of the bastions, close to the gate, to overawe the lone six traders within, and compel them to surrender without a shot. But they never found their chance. The white traders, outmatched man for man as they were, stood on the watch night and day behind ten well-loaded guns in large "augur" holes. The party, much disturbed at being discovered on foreign hunting grounds by Kootenay hunters on their own preserves, suddenly departed after a siege of three weeks.

Kootenae Appee, the Piegan leader, upon reaching his tribe on the western prairies, justified his apparent desertion with the words:

"I have attacked tents all my life. My knife cuts through them. Our enemies cannot resist a blade. This I shall wield as long as I live. But now I find myself face to face with logs that my knife cannot penetrate; not even the balls from our guns can pierce them. The white men behind those logs are not even at war with us; they receive us with gifts of tobacco twists. Their chief knows all about the stars. He can see everything, and our women cannot mend a pair of moccasins but he might know of it. I shall go no further."

By a peculiar misconception, the recent planners of the Thompson Memorial at Lake Windermere have adopted the American log-cabin type as a model, as have done the builders of many other similar structures in the national parks in the Rockies, presuming that they were revivals of the past. This anachronism discloses ignorance of history. One should remember that the true log cabin at first was unknown in Canada; even in the United States, where it originated on our continent, it did not occupy much of a place until the beginning of the last century. Shurtleff in his *Log Cabin Myth* ridiculed the assumption that President Lincoln was born, as is now currently written, in a log cabin. Of British origin, he had spent his childhood in a draughty frame house covered with clapboards fixed on to the posts with iron nails; this house, like the others of the same kind, was poorly heated in the winters by a squat stone chimney firmly planted in the ground at one end of the house.

When Thompson moved south and built Saleesh House in the present state of Montana in 1809, he erected the same type of building as he had at Lake Windermere. His *Narrative*, published by the Champlain Society, gives some interesting details of its construction.



This reconstruction of Chauvin's *maison de plaisance* of 1600 stands on the site of the original near the Hotel Tadoussac. The logs were taken from two old *poteaux sur sole* buildings in north shore villages.

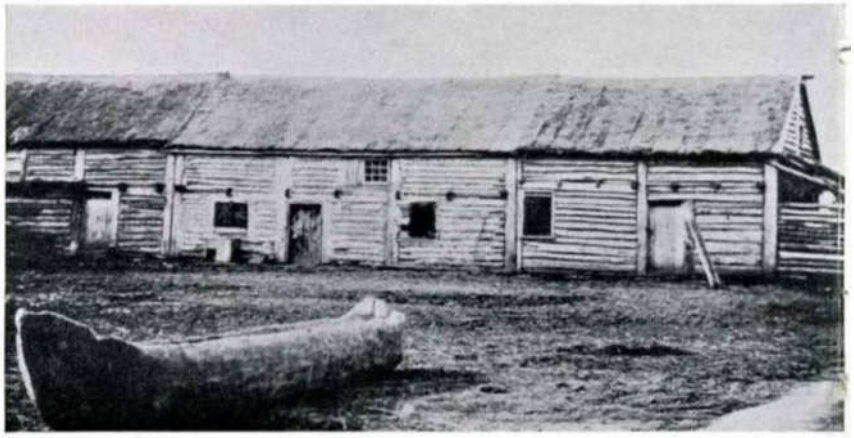
"Our first care," he writes, "was a strong Log building for the Goods and Furrs, and for trading with the Natives. . . . On the 23rd [of September] we had finished the Store House. To make the roof as tight as possible, which was covered with small Logs, we cut long grass and worked it up with mud, and filled up the intervals of the small logs which answered tolerable well for Rain, but the Snow in melting found many a passage; in this manner we also builded our dwelling House; and roofed it, the floors were of split Logs, with the round side downwards, notched so as to lie firm on the Sleepers, and made smooth with the Adze; our Chimneys were made of stone and mud rudely worked for about six feet in height and eighteen inches thick, the rest of layers of grass and mud worked round strong poles inserted in the stone work, with cross pieces, and thus carried up to about four feet above the roof; the fire place is raised a little, and three to four feet in width by about fifteen inches in depth."

Thompson's Journal gives further details. His own house, which he shared with his clerk, James McMillan—later builder of Fort Langley—had three rooms,

The "American" type of log cabin. A water colour by John Halkett, about 1822.

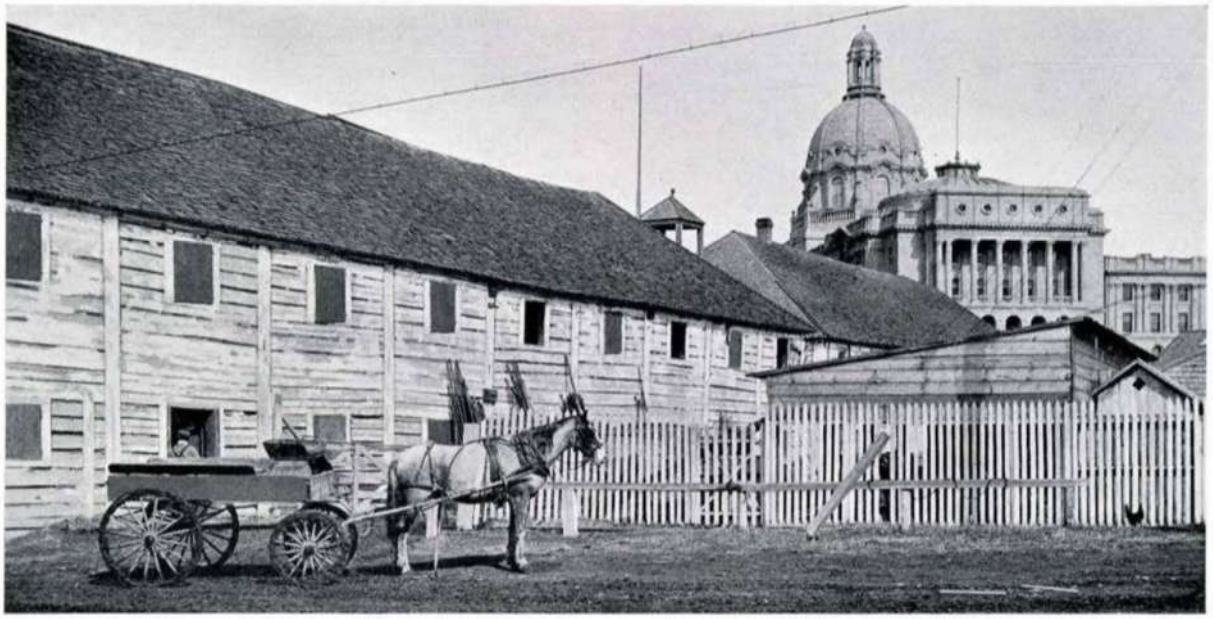
AMERICAN LOG-HOUSE. SNAKE-FENCE.

N.W.T. At Fort Good Hope, on the Mackenzie River, near the Arctic Circle.



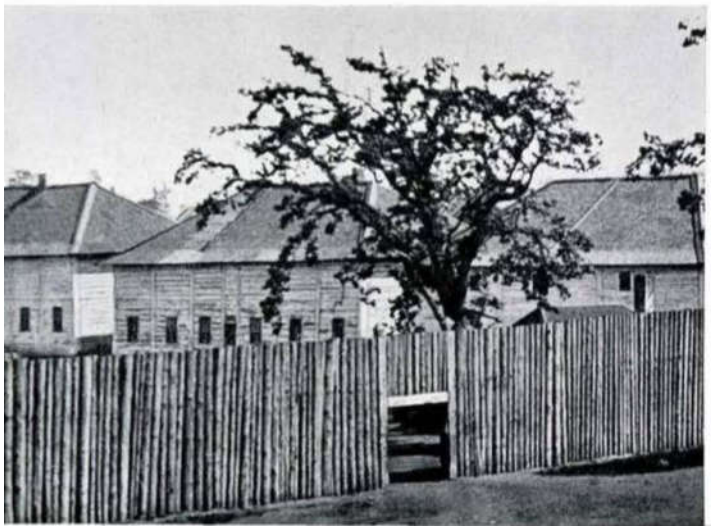
B.C. Interior. At McLeod's Lake, first white settlement in B.C. Photo taken by Henry Y. Hind in 1857. In the foreground is a dug-out canoe.

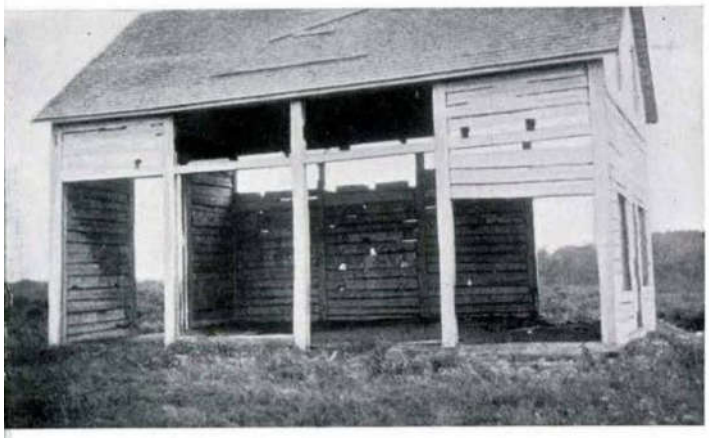
"Posts on the Sill" buildings were erected by the HBC across Canada.



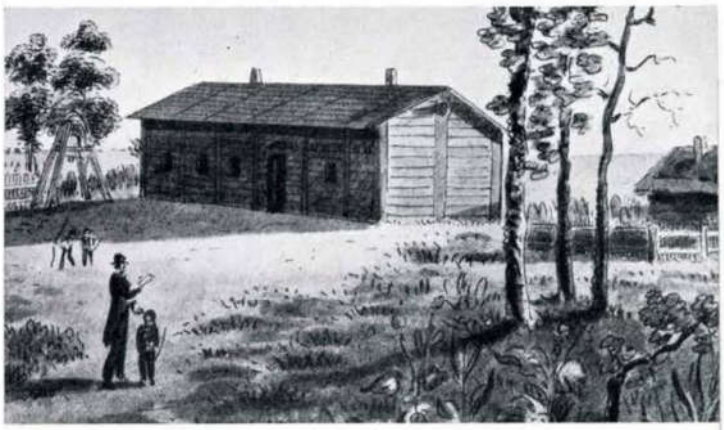
Alberta. The last two buildings of Fort Edmonton, which were ruthlessly torn down only about thirty years ago.

Pacific Coast. These three buildings at Fort Victoria, and the one on the left at Fort Vancouver (below right) were all built in the "Hudson's Bay style." *B.C. Archives.*





Saskatchewan. This photo of the partly demolished warehouse at Fort Pelly shows how the framework was filled in with short squared logs.



Manitoba. "The English minister's house on the Red River in the summer of 1822," by Peter Rindisbacher. *Public Archives of Canada.*

Labrador. Fort Nascopie, built in 1838. Photo by A. P. Low, 1894. *Geological Survey.*

with two fireplaces. The windows, "for want of skins," were at first covered with paper; and the walls were evidently the traditional *poteaux sur sole.*

From the Clark Fork River in Montana to the shores of Great Slave Lake is a far cry; but there again we find the French-Canadian type of house being built. Captain Back, the well known explorer, who travelled down the Great Fish River to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, records the building of Fort Reliance on the east end of the lake in 1833:

"On the 5th of November, we had the pleasure of changing our cold tents for the comparative comfort of the house, which, like most of those in this country, was constructed of a framework, filled up with logs let into grooves, and closely plastered with a cement composed of common clay and sand. The roof was formed of a number of single slabs, extending slantingly from the ridge pole to the eaves, and the whole was rendered tolerably tight by a mixture of dry grass, clay, and sand, which was beat down between the slabs, and subsequently coated over with a thin layer of mud. The house was fifty feet long and thirty broad; having four separate rooms, with a spacious hall in the centre for the reception and accommodation of the Indians. Each room had a fire place and a rude chimney. . . ."

Thirty years later, John McDougall helped in the erection of an "old fashioned Hudson's Bay style" house at Smoking Lake, Saskatchewan. Years afterwards he described it in his *Saddle, Sled, and Snowshoe:*

"A frame of timber, with grooved posts in which tenoned logs fitted into ten-foot spans—and as all the work of sawing and planing had to be done by hand, the progress was slow. My idea was to face long timber presumably in the log-cabin style and put up a solid block house, which could be done so much more easily and quickly . . . ; but I was overruled, so we went on more slowly with the big house, and were smoked and sweltered in the tents all summer."

The wooden houses of Thompson, of Captain Back, and of McDougall were typical of all others built during the same period in the northwest. Obviously they were of the *poteaux sur sole* type. Such was the house that McTavish and his followers built in the forested wilderness for the benefit of the fur trade. For it came into existence during the period that preceded the rush of the American settlers with their new log-cabins, to the vast expanses of the North and West.

Quebec. In the province where the *poteaux sur sole* type originated, a building of the same style is erected at Kanaaupscow post by Indians in 1943. The tongue-and-groove principle, however, is not being used. *G. Speers.*

This scene, looking up the Red River, was painted by Paul Kane in 1846. St. Boniface is on the left, Upper Fort Garry on the right. The two buildings put up as extra barracks for the troops are visible outside the fort on the extreme right.
Royal Ontario Museum.

REDCOATS at FORT GARRY

by W. E. Ingersoll

Nearly a century ago, 300 foot soldiers, with artillery and engineers, came from England to Red River, brought thither by the HBC to stand on guard for Canada.

ON Christmas Eve, one hundred years ago, Sir George Simpson sat at his desk in Hudson's Bay House, Lachine, and with grave mien, penned a letter to the Governor of the Company, Sir John Henry Pelly. Two problems weighed heavily on his mind. Reports reaching him from Red River told of growing unrest among the half-breeds of the settlement, while from below the border came ominous threats of war over the Oregon boundary dispute.

"There is much warlike preparation going forward on both sides the line," wrote Sir George. "Militia corps are being enrolled & Volunteer Corps will be raised on the very first appearance of hostilities, which all in this country seem to think inevitable."

In the event of war, Red River Settlement would be attacked, and such was the temper of the half-breeds that they might join forces with the enemy. To both these problems, Sir George suggested one solution—the sending of British troops to Red River.

His suggestion was acted upon. Sir John Pelly got in touch with the War Office, much correspondence and many interviews ensued, and at last in April 1846 he received a letter from Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, then secretary of state for the Department of War and the Colonies:

"I think it right to apprise you that Her Majesty's Government think of sending a detachment of troops to Fort Garry, with the intention of relieving them hereafter by a corps to be raised to serve there locally; and that we shall be ready to receive any further communication from the Hudson's Bay Company on the subject."

At this point, however, the commander-in-chief—none other than the venerable Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo—took a hand. In a private letter to Pelly, Gladstone informed him that the Duke considered the first move should be the sending of two officers to Red River to report on the situation. But Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour had already been there the previous year, to report on the feasibility of sending troops from Canada to Red River and Oregon (see *The Beaver*, June 1936), and a further report—and consequent delay—seemed wholly unnecessary.

Pelly accordingly replied that "The whole year must be lost, if the decision of Her Majesty's Government as to the sending Troops is to depend upon the report of Officers now to be sent out, and during that time it is to be feared that the Emissaries from the South side of the Boundary line might succeed in permanently detaching these people [the half-breeds] from their allegiance.

"The two Forts [Garry] at the Red River appear to us to be sufficient to enable regular Troops to protect themselves against the attack of any force with small

arms and the Defences might be Speedily improved after the Troops arrived there.

"The United States have no means at present of bringing up cannon, and if attempted there are so many difficulties in transporting anything in the nature of a heavy [gun] carriage across the many muddy creeks or watercourses that fall into the main Rivers, that a few troops would have opportunities of frustrating the attempt."

After reading this, the Government evidently thought it better to adhere to the original plan, for on April 28 Lord Lyttelton wrote to Pelly:

"Mr. Gladstone has simply to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government accept the offer of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that they will be prepared to forward a detachment to Fort Garry during the present Season."

The troops were therefore ordered to sail from Cork, Ireland, on June 26. By that time fear of war with the United States had been allayed, for the Oregon Treaty, fixing the boundary at the 49th parallel, had already been signed; but the news had not reached Britain when the soldiers sailed. Under Lt.-Col. John ffolliott Crofton, there were three companies of the Sixth Foot, consisting of 16 officers, 15 sergeants and 276 rank and file; 28 officers and men of the Royal Artillery with six 6-pounders, six 3-pounders, eight howitzers, and eight mortars; and a dozen Royal Sappers and Miners. Seventeen of the soldiers' wives with nineteeen children completed the party.

They had a bitter six weeks' voyage from Cork to York Factory. From the tundra about Hudson Bay to the fertile haughs of Red River was another seven weeks' travel. Then like the lotus-eaters they came to a golden land—prairie and grove in the sere and lovely spectrum of autumntime, our present Manitoba at its loveliest.

The impact which the soldiers made upon their arrival in the Red River settlement, and the difficulties encountered in bringing them there, are best described by eyewitnesses, notably Company officers.

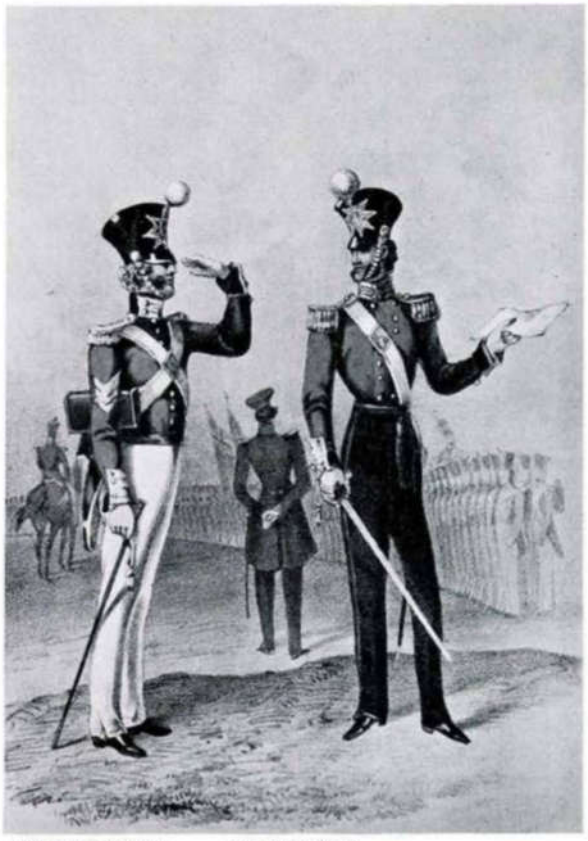
Chief Factor Donald Ross, who was the toad beneath the harrow in getting the Sixth over that leg of their journey between York Factory and Red River, wrote from Norway House to Sir George Simpson, December 7, 1846: "We left York Factory late on the evening of the 28th of August, and arrived at this place on September 24th; the voyage up was therefore sufficiently tedious, but not more so than might well be expected with such extraordinary cargoes as Her Majesty's stores proved to be—piles of awkward cases of great weight, of every possible shape and size; massive pine tables, benches, wheelbarrows, immense washing tubs." The Chief Factor reported that one of his boatmen was fatally hurt in moving these items of baggage, to say nothing of the damage to the boats. The Royal Artillery detachment proposed to bring over the seven hundred miles and thirty-four portages between York Factory and Red River, their twenty cannon and eight mortars, with 250 rounds of ammunition per piece. But, probably in face of the representation by Chief Factor Ross that they could only do this over many dead bodies, including that of the chief factor himself if they tried it, they liberally compromised and only took to Red River one nine-pounder and three six-pounders.

Ross got along fairly well with the young fellows of the Sixth as he took over the convoy of the expedition from the veteran voyageur guide Bernard, who had brought the troops on the first stage of their journey south from York Factory. "We had a bit of a brush now and then," he wrote Sir George Simpson, "but they were on the whole good travelling companions, always ready and willing to atone for any little outbreak of temper or ill-humour caused by the discomforts of a tedious and unaccustomed mode of travelling." And he added, doubtless with tongue in cheek, "No doubt they looked on me as a semi-barbarian, guiltless of all knowledge of military or other polished proprieties, and accordingly made due allowance for such serious defects in one who has passed thirty years of his life in the wilderness."

Arrived at Red River on September 17, the force was divided in two, some being quartered at the Lower Fort, and the rest at the Upper. The Lower Fort, construction of which had been started in 1831, was only just ready to receive them, for Sir George had written to Alexander Christie the previous December that he must "get the wall and bastions finished before the arrival of the troops." The smaller part of the force, consisting of seven officers and 162 men, was stationed there, while the Company officer in charge moved into the small stone cottage south of the fort, which is still used as a dwelling today.

The inconvenience to the Company's staff is indicated in a letter from Clerk John Black at Lower Fort Garry to Chief Factor Ross, March 22, 1847: "So much accomodation has been given up to the military,

A sergeant and an officer of the Sixth Foot, 1839. From Cannon's history of the regiment, which was founded in 1674.



SIXTH,
OR ROYAL FIRST WARWICKSHIRE
REGIMENT OF FOOT.

that there is hardly a decent nook to poke one's head into."

The larger part of the force—twelve officers and 184 men—were quartered in the Upper Fort. Colonel Crofton sent off his reports of their safe arrival to England, and in due course received a letter from Lord Fitzroy Somerset, saying that he was "directed by the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Wellington, to acquaint you that in his Grace's opinion the way this novel and arduous service has been conducted is, in the highest degree, creditable to you and the officers and men who composed the detachments."

Miss Anna Cowan, daughter of the Company doctor at the Upper Fort, recalled in later life the arrangements made to house the staff: "The buildings along the eastern wall of Fort Garry were alone reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company. A high close picket fence across the Fort was at once put up by the soldiers, completely dividing the two services. Governor Christie moved into the lower part of the residence near the little gate, while the upper storey was remodelled and partitioned off to form the general office as well as the clerk's quarters. For two years all the Company's business was carried on in this confined area."

The warehouses along the west wall were turned into barracks, and the four stone bastions were used respectively as a guard room, an engineer's office and store, a sutler's shop, and a magazine. The jail, outside the walls, was turned into a hospital, and two buildings, sixty by thirty, were put up to the north of the fort as additional barracks.

The scarlet-coated officers entered agreeably into the social life of the Forts Garry; the soldiers, in their tufted stove-pipe shakos of a style little changed since the days of Waterloo, and their white drill trousers and blue greatcoats, mingled affably with the toqued voyageurs and the buckskinned and moccasinned pioneers who had made a little haven in the wilderness and had begun to tap its wealth with sickle-cut wheat crops and rich hoed gardens. But soon they were sick for home, eaten up with ennui, missing England and its millennial woods and ways.

What the soldiers thought of the settlement, and the settlement the soldiers, is described by Wemyss Simpson, Sir George's brother-in-law, in a letter to Donald Ross from Red River, December 1846, when the Sixth had been at Fort Garry some three months:

> "They are not too fond of the country, as they have so very little amusement and so little occupation. They tried to get up races, but did not succeed. Mr. Mosse, one of the ensigns, walked from the Upper to the Lower Fort in three hours, 39 minutes, for £5 sterling. The men are very orderly, and there have only been a few rows. One man was stabbed by a half-breed, who was jealous of him. Two others were tried and flogged, one 100 lashes, the other 50. They did not say a word during the whole time of the punishment, and therefore saved themselves from being laughed at. The people in the settlement were never so well off, as the Government spends about £30 per day, and the Company also spends a great deal, buying all the cattle, pigs, sheep and grain. McDermott and the Scotch settlers are making fortunes. The soldiers buy great quantities of beer, and give any price for it, and there are few houses in the settlement where they cannot get it."

No doubt the Scottish settlers all knew how to manufacture what Robert Burns calls barley bree, the home-brew of his Dumfries, more potent than any factory-made brew and peerless to drive away nostalgia.

A letter from Robert Clouston gives an intimate picture of the Red River settlement in garrison times:

> "The military make very little noise in the settlement; in fact, if it were not that the bugle is everlastingly reminding one of their presence, he might fancy that such a thing as a Red Coat was unknown in the settlement. True, some of the privates get drunk occasionally, but they amuse themselves afterwards by informing upon the vendor of the whiskey. Peter Hayden, a settler, upon the evidence of six or eight soldiers, was cast in fines and costs to the amount of £26. . . We are to have a grand public dinner shortly at Andrew McDermott's place; it is a subscription dinner among the respectable settlers, at which Her Majesty's officers and those of the Hudson's Bay service are to be guests. Mr. Christie [Chief Factor Alexander Christie] has excused himself, but Black and myself will go. Aleck has got the sulks about something, but I expect he will agree to go yet. Great preparations are being made. Champagne and a great variety of things for dessert have been provided from the States. Of course, there will be toasts and speechifying and, I expect, some rare fun. Those not accustomed to dine at these parties will get over the mark [tipsy] before they have any idea of it."

The Sixth Foot had British appetites. "The large consumption of provisions by the troops, and the partial crop failure," wrote Sir George Simpson from Fort Garry to Chief Factor Ross at Norway House, after the troops' arrival, "have created a scarcity. All the pork and biscuits in depot at Norway House are to remain there untouched."

The first Christmas in the new land was celebrated in great style. On December 23 and 24, the settlers were allowed to buy rum at the Company's store, and Colonel Crofton thus had occasion to "fear that my men will not be the more sober from this indulgence." However, he gave directions that they might obtain one gill each on Christmas Day. On the 25th he wrote in his journal: "The officers made enough noise last night to make one fancy bedlam had emigrated to Red River. This uproar and debauchery is so pernicious in example to the soldiers that I have determined to put a stop to such a riot."

Now the cold weather was upon them. Crofton records:

> "Officers and men were dressed in their double lined great coats, moccasins, fur caps with ear flaps, fur mittens, with accoutrements outside the great coats. All sentries, by day or night, were provided with buffalo coats kept at each post for their use. Every day my orders were given to the Sergeant-Major while mounting the guard, that I would severely punish any soldier who stood still at his post, and who did not call out every quarter of an hour All's well. This was to keep the sentries from sleep. . . . I thus did all I could to prevent a poor fellow from being frozen to death. The sentries at each post were relieved every hour at night."

On December 31, the colonel wrote that "The old year goes out as cold as death." On January 20 the thermometer hit its lowest for the winter—forty-seven below. Cooped up as they were, the problem of amusing the soldiers in their leisure hours was always a difficult one; but in the evenings the library helped out, and sometimes there was "sledging down the slope of the bank which we had prepared for the purpose, in imitation of the practice common in Russia. This seemed never to tire."

When spring came at last, two soldiers of the Sixth, Bruce and Johnson, deserted and made an attempt to escape into the United States. Crofton's record, secured by the late Isaac Cowie, former Hudson's Bay Company officer, and published in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 8, 1911, describes this episode and its upshot:

"Two of my men, Bruce and Johnson, have been absent for a month, and from what I can learn, they have escaped over the boundary line and are now in

American territory. They left their military clothing and belts at the back of a house not far off, and took two old guns from the house, with which they have decamped. The temptation to desert is great, the plains are open, guides can be had for a few shillings, and sixty miles of distance puts them out of my power to capture them, being then on American ground."

Nevertheless, the Colonel took all pains to get back his men: "I have no tidings of the deserters, but I have a chance of catching them, for there are seven stout-hearted half-breeds after them; and these men, if once on their track, would overtake them, and not be very nice about the astronomic line of frontier."

The two deserters, who had left Red River on April 8, were recaptured on May 14 and brought back to barracks on May 15. Colonel Crofton wrote: "The deserters were brought in this morning at eight o'clock. I have spared no trouble nor expense to catch the rascals. They shall afford a very wholesome example to similar characters, if such there be among the troops here."

The two men were tried by a district court martial on May 18, and were punished on the morning of May 19: "This morning I carried into effect the sentence on Bruce and Johnson. A triangle was rigged up, and the troops were paraded. Then the two men were lashed to the triangle, and received the fixed number of lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, in the presence of the men. Bruce took his punishment badly, but Johnson like a soldier. . . . I detest punishing in this manner, but I am convinced that it is requisite. I gave Bruce 125 and Johnson 75."

Two wilderness winters when "the officers and men seemed to fret in their cages like wild animals," and two nostalgic summers of vague, wild and unsatisfying adventure and of attempts to organize English cricket on alien sward, and the young military men received with unbounded joy the intimation that they were to go home. They did go home to England, in the summer of 1848.

Consternation reigned in the settlement when it was announced that the sociable and free-spending Sixth was to leave. The first intimation was conveyed in a letter from Alexander Christie, Governor of Red River, to Donald Ross, September 3, 1847: "Private letters recently received mention that the whole of the troops are to proceed hence, via York Factory, to England, next summer. It is understood they are to be replaced by a party from the Canada Rifles, who will, of course, come hither via Fort William and Lac la Pluie."

John Black, of Lower Fort Garry, was again the spokesman in regard to the feelings of the settlers when they should hear that the Sixth were to leave. He wrote Donald Ross, September 27, 1847: "What will be thought in the settlement when it is announced that the troops are to be withdrawn? The settlers have prospered exceedingly in trade with the soldiers. Their golden dreams of universal prosperity are to be nipped in the bud."

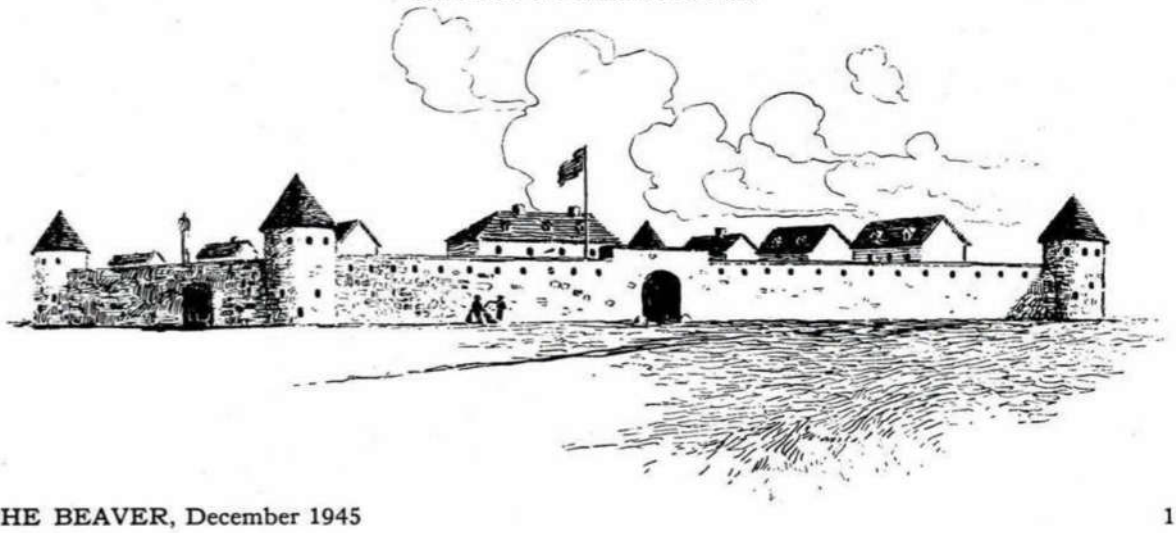
Not till almost a year later, however, did they leave, by the route they had come. Towards the end of August the *General Palmer* sailed from York Factory with most of the troops on board, and the rest put to sea before September 10.

On the way to York Factory, they passed a body of fifty-six pensioners who had been sent to replace them. These men, under command of Major Caldwell, who became governor of the settlement, arrived at Red River in mid-September. Their function was that of police, rather than of a garrison. They were not quartered at Fort Garry, but through the settlement, and being contented men of middle age, they settled down more or less quietly in their new locale.

Their uniforms were dark green with crimson facings. John Black wrote of them: "Compared with the gallant band who have left us, the Pensioners cut rather a poor figure, both in point of numbers and appearance." They were definitely not a success. Donald Ross referred to them as "a great deal worse than useless." When their term of enrolment expired in 1855 they were disbanded, some going back to England, some to Canada, and the rest staying on in the settlement.

For the next two years there were no troops quartered at Red River. Then a company of Royal Canadian Rifles was sent out from Canada, who stayed for four years. After 1861, the presence of troops to check the unruly half-breed element was deemed unnecessary by the Imperial authorities. Had they remained for another eight years, the course of western history might have taken a very different turn.

A drawing made from Alexander Hunter Murray's sketch of the upper fort in 1845. The north gate is in the centre, the belfry between the two bastions on the left.



The COWICHAN SWEATER

by E. Blanche Norcross

A Cowichan woman displays the thick "Indian" she has knitted. *Steffens-Colmer*

THE North American Indian has frequently shown ingenuity in adapting the white man's materials to his ancient handicrafts, but on Vancouver Island he (or, more correctly, she) has developed a new craft. This craft is perhaps unique, in that a white man's industry is entirely dependent on it.

Every flock has its black sheep, but it took the Cowichan Indian to make a paying business of that accident of nature. On the ordinary market black wool is considered an inferior grade and paid for accordingly. On the reserve it fetches top prices, for it is an essential to a profitable home industry.

One of the black rams used in the breeding of black sheep at Cowichan.

The Hudson's Bay Company, first farmer and first flockmaster on Vancouver Island, did not follow the common practice of destroying black lambs, but preserved and bred from them, thus providing a source of black wool. In the early 1920's the demand for black wool, for specialized use in the Indian sweater-making industry, had reached the point where farmers made a deliberate effort to build up flocks of black sheep which would breed true.

Twenty years before this, kloochmen of the district of Cowichan on Vancouver Island worked out a distinctive sweater, a garment especially adapted to the climate and outdoor working conditions. Rain-proof, or practically so, it was yet loose and easy to work in. It wore like iron and stood up to years of rough labour. The design was a bold contrast of black on white, undyed wool. It was, in short, an Indian sweater.

To-day there is scarcely a man, woman or child in Cowichan who does not own his "Indian." For play or work, they meet the needs of the district. In 1943 the prices went soaring to $25 and $30 per sweater, far beyond the reach of Cowichan. It appears that the fame of the Siwash sweater had spread to Alaska, and war-time construction workers were prepared to pay any price for such an article. A buyer came to the district and the sweaters went north that season.

Distinguished visitors to Vancouver Island have not been received with due honour if they are allowed to leave without a Cowichan sweater. The then Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his first visit to Canada, startled his valet with one of these barbaric-looking

Maybe this is the little boy who lives down the lane.

garments (knitted by the late Mary Anne Modeste, one of the best workwomen the rancherie has known) and just the other day the Quiz Kids on tour in Victoria departed with their luggage swelled by the addition of a black and white sweater. In the twenty-odd years between, many another notable traveller has added an "Indian" to his souvenirs.

Unlike basket-making, this is an art which the younger women follow as eagerly as their mothers, and through marriages into other bands the industry has spread south to Sooke and Saanich and north to Qualicum.

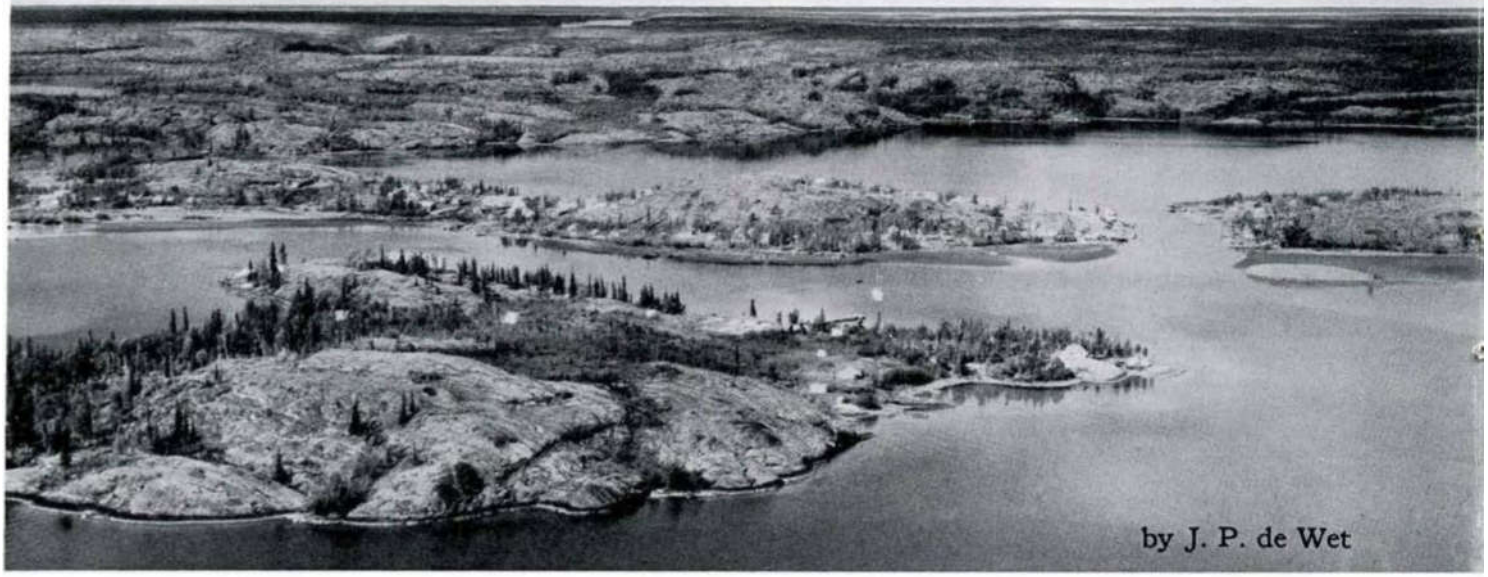
The Indians buy the fleeces direct from flockmasters of the district, booking their orders well ahead with the breeders of black sheep. Not every black sheep is as dark as her name implies. In youth she is deep-dyed, but as her years increase her wool grows rustier and in age she is almost gray. The blacker the wool, however, the more highly it is valued by the Indian purchaser. At home the kloochman washes—but does not dye—the wool; cards it, washes it once more, spins it into heavy yarn and knits the hard-wearing garments—sweaters, socks, gloves, caps—which have become the badge of Cowichan. Some knitters will work out the customer's own design, but—since this is mass production—most prefer to stay with one design, which may be taken from their traditional basket designs but is more likely from the same crochet book your wife uses.

In a good year the Siwash sweaters may retail for a gross sum of $10,000, half of which is taken in by one small store on the highway leading into Duncan.

White wool and black wool are hung up to dry after washing. *Steffens-Colmer*

At an Indian school on Vancouver Island, an experienced sweater maker gives lessons in the art to some of the local knitters. *Steffens-Colmer*

MINING in the NORTH



by J. P. de Wet

This air view taken several years ago gives a good idea of the rocky, sparsely-treed country around Yellowknife. Jolliffe Island is in the foreground, and the settlement—now considerably larger—just beyond it. *R.C.A.F.*

THE Germans have made much of the hypothesis that wars are good for nations because great advancement results under the stimulus of combat. There is some measure of truth in this, because the spur of necessity does speed progress in many fields. The rapid strides in aviation in the two great wars of this century are examples. And the recent war has seen great progress in the practice of surgery and both preventive and curative medicine, as well as in the various fields of invention and engineering.

Some of the benefits that Canada received during the conflict just ended came through the projects which were undertaken in the Northwest Territories to prosecute the war. These developments—unlike many war factories—will help to expand our country in the days of peace and reconversion. Mainly constructed by the United States, they include the Northwest Air Staging Route, with its series of flight strips along the Alaska Highway, the flight strips down the Mackenzie, the Northeast Staging Route, the telephone-telegraph-teletype line from Edmonton to the Alaska Boundary, the system of meteorological stations in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and the exploration and development of the oil field at Norman, with its ancillary pipeline and pipeline road to Whitehorse.

Northern mining has also benefited greatly from the war, by reason of the vast sums of money made available for mineral exploration. Never in all Canadian history have there been so many millions of dollars available to finance the hunt for new mines, and today there is plenty of money not only for the older, near-at-hand districts, but to pursue the quest even into the Arctic. The prospector, the geologist and the mining engineer today are pushing their way into remote districts of the distant North where formerly the H B C factor, the missionary, and the R.C.M. Policeman were almost the only white people the natives met.

Yellowknife, on the north shore of Great Slave Lake, and at the mouth of the river of the same name that empties into Great Slave Lake on its north side, is the landing beach for today's prospecting invasion of the Northwest Territories. Already over one hundred and thirty companies have been incorporated to work in the Yellowknife territory and adjacent areas: possibly fifty are financed at least for exploration and diamond drilling; literally millions of dollars are in companies' treasuries. A careful estimate has placed the number of claims recorded in the Yellowknife recording area at 35,000.

Broadly considered, the Northwest Territories are made up of three geological provinces. In the east lies the Canadian Shield, more often called the *Precambrian Shield* in reference to its geological age. West of this is a *Plains* area, generally similar in rocks and structure to much of southeastern Ontario or to the southern parts of the prairie provinces. In the extreme west and again in the northernmost islands are *Mountains* like those in British Columbia. Each of these three great regions forms a unit throughout which the rocks and mineral deposits are generally similar, but differ in detail from those in each of the other two regions.

Mountains

In the Mackenzie mountains few mineral occurrences have been reported, perhaps because the area always has been relatively inaccessible. The only minerals recorded so far have been low grade iron ores exposed near the Canol Road, and placer gold along the Peel, Nahanni and Liard Rivers. Now, however, roads border the Mackenzie mountains on the south and east, and the Canol pipeline and road cross them at about their greatest width, so that further prospecting may be expected.

Plains

The mineral resources of the plains region include salt, gypsum, coal, oil, lead, zinc and iron; but to date oil has been the only mineral of importance. Hon. T. A. Crerar, formerly Minister of Mines and Resources, stated in the House of Commons on May 25, 1944, that 100,000,000 acres in the Northwest Territories (practically the entire basin of the Mackenzie River) are considered favourable for oil exploration.

This fact has been known for fifty-five years, but the remoteness of the area has prevented exploitation, other than at Norman, the neighbourhood of the much publicized Canol Project. This field, which was developed to its present status by Imperial Oil Limited for the United States Army, in 1944 produced 1,229,310 barrels of oil, or just over one-tenth of what was produced in the entire Dominion, compared with 266,882 barrels in 1943.

Actually, the Mackenzie River valley has been described by J. S. Stewart, of the Geological Survey of Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, as "probably the largest comparatively unexplored potential petroleum region in North America, with the essentials for potential oil fields covering an area over 1,000 miles long."

Wells drilled in the Norman field have outlined an area of over five thousand acres that probably will prove productive. At the end of 1944 there were sixty-seven producing wells. A large part of the field is under the Mackenzie River between the north bank and Bear Island. There are producing wells on Bear Island and on a small sand bar called Goose Island. From the centre of the oil field at the mouth of Bosworth Creek on the north bank of the river, to Bear Island, is one and a quarter to one and a half miles. At Norman Wells the river, including islands, is three miles wide.

Overlooking Goose Island and the centre of the oil lode at Norman Wells. *Edith Sykes.*

At Imperial Oil's Norman Wells refinery one can buy the following products at the gallon prices named which include the federal tax of three cents: 90-91 octane aviation gas, 63 cents; aviation gas "87," 51½ cents; Esso ethyl motor gas, 35 cents; Premium gas, 31 cents; light Diesel oil, 14 cents; heavy Diesel oil, 9 cents; bunker fuel, 5 cents. This year the two H B C stern wheelers, *Distributor* and *Mackenzie River*, have been operating on bunker fuel from Norman Wells.

In all, the United States Government expenditures on the Canol Project of the Norman Wells field were more than $100,000,000 for exploration and drilling in the area already proved, for a road and pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse, Yukon, for a refinery at Whitehorse, and for distributing lines from Whitehorse to Fairbanks and Skagway, Alaska, and Watson

The Canol Project (centre) across the river from Norman Wells, seen from 13,000 feet. *R.C.A.F.*

Lake, B.C. The Norman Wells field supplied gasoline and Diesel fuel oil used on the Northwest Staging Route (air) and on the Alaska Highway.

But the Norman Wells field is only one of several in the Northwest Territories known to Canadian geologists. There are the Arctic Red River area, 250 to 300 miles north of Norman Wells, and the Wind River basin of the Yukon, north of latitude 65 degrees and 250 miles west of Fort Norman. Oil seepages have been found about the western arm of Great Slave Lake and exploratory wells have been drilled on the north side of the arm at Windy Point, and 15 miles south of the arm on Hay River.

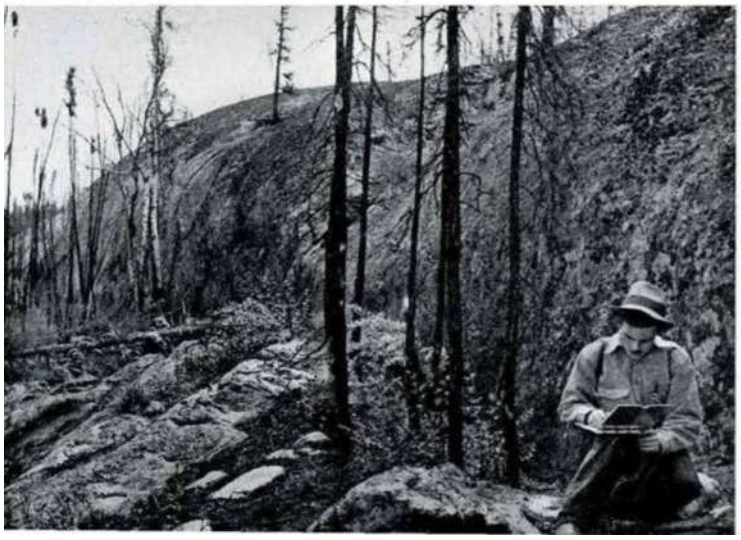
While the oil possibilities in the Mackenzie River basin are unlikely to see immediate development, and the Norman Wells field is reported not large enough for profitable pipeline distribution to any distance—to Whitehorse, for instance—under present conditions, certain factors invest the northern oil potentialities with a new significance. These include the depletion in recent years of United States oil reserves, possibilities for selling oil to Russia for navigation needs in the Arctic, recent developments in gold mining in the Yellowknife area, the possibilities for copper mining near the Coppermine River, well within the Arctic Circle, the general possibilities for a much expanded mining industry in the Northwest Territories, and proximity to the North America-Asia air route. In any case, they are reserves against future needs.

Canadian Shield

Very many mineral occurrences are known in the Precambrian Shield area of the Northwest Territories, the west boundary of which is marked roughly by the Slave River, the east shore of the north arm of Great Slave Lake, the Marian River, the Faber-Hardisty-Hottah string of lakes, the east shoreline of Great Bear Lake, and thence in a westerly curving line to Darnley Bay on Beaufort Sea.

Already the rush has commenced. Yellowknife settlement is an overcrowded boom town, and the heavy influx of miners and prospectors during May taxed the food resources of the settlement so badly that the foods administration branch of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board last spring took the unusual step of a newspaper announcement to mining and other interests operating in the district. It asked them to be sure to take food supplies into the area by aeroplane, sufficient to meet the needs of their men, pending the opening of water transportation due between June 15 and 20. Gold, the precious metal that men throughout the ages have sought, fought for, intrigued for, and perished for in a hundred different ways, again is the irresistible magnet that attracts the adventurous.

Looking south along the Akaitcho fault, seen in the top right corner of the outline map opposite. The fault here is contained in a crack only an inch wide. *Geol. Survey.*



The Yellowknife area is characterized by signs of great earth movements in prehistoric periods—what geologists call structural faults. They are among the largest known, steeply dipping dislocations of the earth's crust. They have caused a total left hand horizontal displacement of about eleven miles. The direction and the amount of vertical movement are not known definitely, but Dr. A. W. Jolliffe, of the Geological Survey of Canada, is of the opinion that ore bodies on the Giant were moved three and a half miles to the north and a mile downward from their former location near the Con mine by the earth movements which followed their deposition. That is to say, present surface at the Con is equivalent to five thousand feet depth at the Giant. (See the accompanying twin maps.)

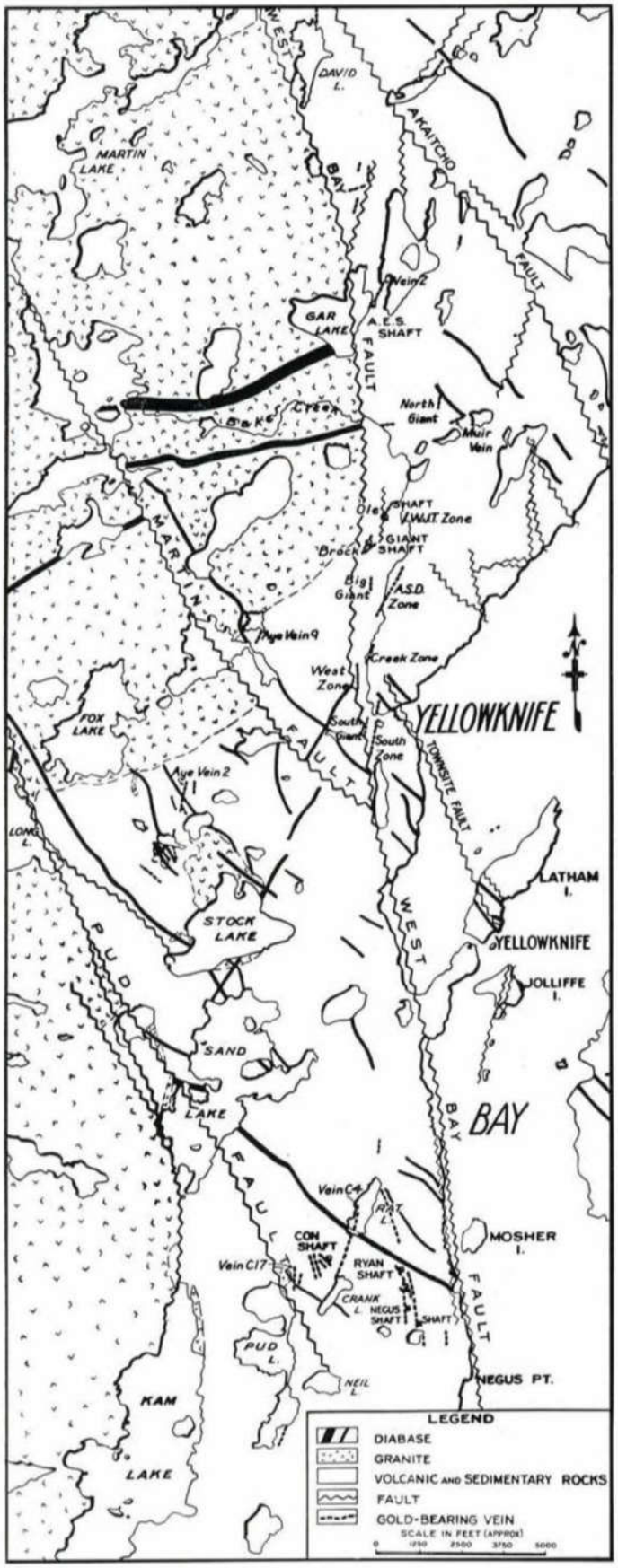
The Yellowknife area has had a long and complex history, and Dr. Jolliffe's studies indicate that after the deposition of the Yellowknife Group volcanic and sedimentary rocks (which, in the type area, exceed ten miles in thickness) the following upheavals occurred in this order: (1) Intrusion of "older granite" batholiths (masses of molten rock); (2) intrusion of "younger granites"; (3) intrusion of diabase dykes; and (4) major "faulting," or rock movements.

One of the important problems of the Yellowknife area is the possibility that the faults are largely subsequent to the formation of the ore bodies, and merely cut them off or replace them. It concerns the relations between gold deposits and faults. Gold deposits other than placer are caused by hot solutions that ascended from deep underground in times of fractures of the earth's crust, impregnating the magma (molten rock) with which they ascended, and which filled the faults or "shear zones" caused by the fracturing. The answer to the Yellowknife problem is essential both to effective prospecting and to the successful exploitation of ore bodies already discovered.

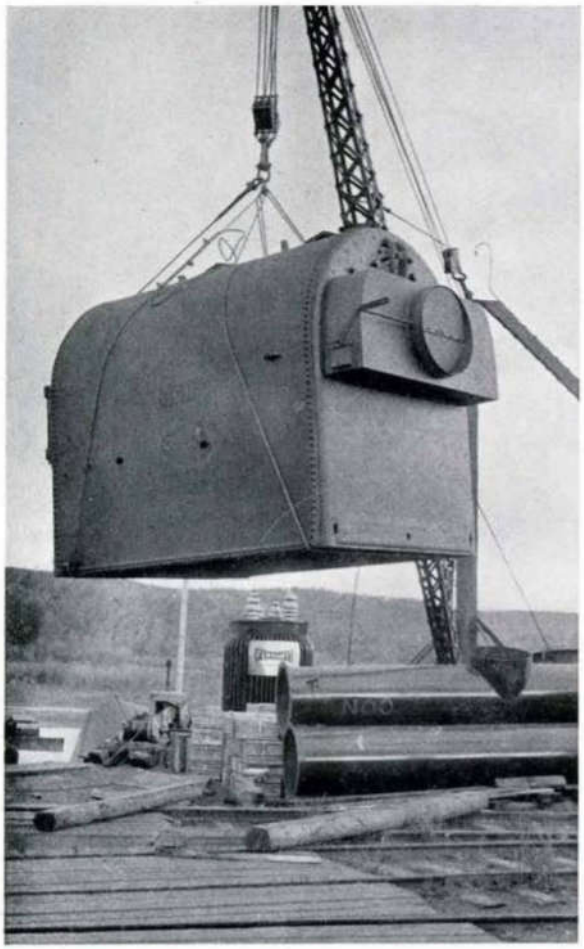
Geologists who work in the Yellowknife area differ in their views on the problem. Dr. Jolliffe's opinion is that gold was introduced into the rocks of the Yellowknife area at several widely separated periods (note the number of faults in the accompanying maps); that the gold-bearing quartz-sulphide bodies lie in shear zones that were formed by differential movements occurring much earlier than, and quite unrelated to, the late major faulting; and that the "younger granite" constitutes the most probable source of the gold-bearing solutions that formed the important gold ore bodies.

In the Yellowknife district, claims have been staked solidly in a narrow area of volcanic rocks roughly twenty-two miles north and south, and from one to five miles wide lying between sedimentary rocks on the east and granite on the west. But actually the Yellowknife-Beaulieu area of the Northwest Territories north of Great Slave Lake, that is favourable to prospecting for metals, is roughly five thousand square miles in extent, and only the scantiest portion has been prospected—to say nothing of geological surveys.

Gold occurrences are widespread in a region extending two hundred and fifty miles northward from the east arm of Great Slave Lake. Recently rich outcrops were found at Indin Lake, one hundred and twenty miles north of Yellowknife settlement. In 1936, rich though narrow quartz veins were found near Gordon



On the left is a Geological Survey map of the west side of Yellowknife Bay. On the right is an R.C.A.F. mosaic of the same country. Note the immense West Bay Fault almost bisecting the area.



A boiler for a northern mine about to be loaded on to an H B C barge at Waterways, Alberta.

Lake, in the Beaulieu River area, about forty minutes flying time from Yellowknife. The Sunset Lake section, seventy-five miles east from Yellowknife, had some thirty square miles staked during the first two months of this year.

Gold occurrences are known also along the west coast of Hudson Bay—on Wager Bay, Chesterfield Inlet, Term Point, south of Rankin Inlet, and Ferguson River—and gold has been found in samples taken near Fort Ross on the northernmost tip of the North American mainland.

But gold is not the only metal in the Northwest Territories. Radium and silver minerals are found at a number of places around Great Bear Lake, and to the south along the Camsell and Marian Rivers. Near Hunter Bay, on the east side of Great Bear Lake, is Canada's well known Eldorado pitchblende-silver mine, the radium products of which are so important that the Dominion Government expropriated the former company's property and all assets in January 1944. The mine and all properties now are owned by a Crown company. The underground workings go down 1,350 feet.

The Eldorado mine is the second largest source in the world of pitchblende or uraninite, one of the ores from which radium and uranium are extracted. Radium, it will be remembered, was the discovery of Madame Curie who worked on ore from the mines of Joachimsthal in Czechoslovakia.

Uranium is the white, lustrous metal, the "fission" or bursting of whose atoms is over ten million times more violent than the bursting of a molecule of a modern high explosive. This is the property which under suitable controls made the atomic bomb possible and the use of atomic energy an actual fact. How to effect the fission of an atom and control and use the energy produced is perhaps man's greatest discovery.

At first the Eldorado mine was worked for radium, which is a disintegration product of uranium, and the by-product uranium salts were used in giving yellow and brown colours to glass and glazes. Now uranium, radium, and the new elements plutonium and neptunium, themselves discoveries of the processes necessary to recover the other two now employed, will be products of the famous mine on the bleak eastern shore of Great Bear Lake.

Copper minerals are common around Coronation Gulf and south to Great Bear Lake. Spectacular finds of native copper many years ago gave their name to the Coppermine River. Last year a famous United States mining company employed twenty-five men and two diamond drills in investigating a copper deposit near Willow Creek, west of the Coppermine River, fifty miles north of the Arctic Circle and forty miles south of the Arctic Ocean. Their expenses are reported to have run between $75,000 and $100,000 for the season. The company was there again this summer.

The copper occurs in the copper-sulphur combination, or sulphide, called chalcocite, one of the most important copper-ore minerals. The great United States copper mining camps of Butte, Mont., Morenci and Clifton, Ariz., Bingham, Utah, Miami and Ely, Nev., and Kennecott, Alaska, were founded on chalcocite in porphyry rocks.

The following catalogue of other mineral occurrences in the Northwest Territories has been compiled by Canada's geological survey men: A copper-nickel sulphide body containing metals of the platinum group occurs on Rankin Inlet, on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Platinum, nickel and silver have been found in samples from Admiralty Inlet in northwestern Baffin Island. Cobalt and nickel are present in Great Bear Lake ores, and also are found on the east arm of Great Slave Lake. Lead and zinc minerals are found south of Great Slave Lake, not far from one of the recently built roads.

A huge turbine scroll case destined for Yellowknife at the Company's docks, Waterways.

Electrical equipment for the mines at Yellowknife goes down north on a Company barge.

Low grade iron formation is found on islands in Great Slave Lake. Lead has been reported from Coronation Gulf. Lead, zinc and copper are found in the Yellowknife-Beaulieu region; some contain appreciable amounts of indium, a rare and valuable metal.

Chromite, the ore of chromium that supplies bright plating for automobiles and hardens steel, has been reported from eastern Baffin Island, Melville Peninsula and the Coppermine River. Molybdenite, the ore of molybdenum which hardens steel, is locally abundant in the Yellowknife district; it has been reported also from Hottah Lake and from Hudson Bay.

Tungsten, another steel-hardening metal that is very valuable in warfare for armour-piercing projectiles and did wonders in stopping heavy German tanks, has been recovered from the gold ores on Outpost Island, Great Slave Lake, and is known in hundreds of scheelite deposits in the Yellowknife-Beaulieu area. Tin is found in both these districts.

Tantalum, columbium, beryllium, and lithium minerals occur in pegmatite rocks in the Yellowknife-Beaulieu region. Semi-precious gems including sapphire, dichreite, chiastolite, jade and lazulite have been found along and near the western margin of the Canadian Shield.

Lignitic coal occurs near Norman, north of Aklavik, and on the west coast of Great Bear Lake. Better quality coals have been reported from the Western Arctic Islands. Their importance may grow if airports are established here, or if maritime traffic develops comparable to that along Russia's "Northeast Passage."

It must not be assumed from this glittering catalogue that the Northwest Territories are the prospectors' and miners' paradise. Without doubt most of the reported occurrences are neither potential mines nor even prospects worth examining; but nevertheless anybody in the mining industry will tell you that every mine or prospect anywhere was at one time or another only a mineral occurrence. History supplies a record of hundreds of prospects that were only mineral occurrences to successive examining geologists and mining engineers, until one man came along with a hunch.

The Eldorado radium-silver mine was on record for thirty years in a Geological Survey of Canada report as an occurrence of cobalt bloom, too distant to be of any commercial value, until an intelligent prospector who had worked in the Cobalt field of Ontario recognized its significance. The Yellowknife gold showings were a mineral occurrence of gold associated with stibnite, the mineral of antimony, reported in a Geological Survey publication in 1898, forty years before the first production of gold from the district. The explorer Franklin reported seepages of oil in what now is the Norman Wells field nearly one hundred years before the first well was drilled there.

Today, the whole of the Northwest Territories appears to be at the commencement of a new age of exploration. A successful Canadian company will manage and control a prospecting program in the Territories which is expected to extend over three years. The company proposes to explore north of Great Slave Lake and eastward as far as the west coast of Hudson Bay; $50,000 is being budgeted per year for this expedition which will include a geologist and five prospectors who have had many years of experience in the Territories. Another expedition will go to a remote and entirely unexplored part of the Arctic, the cost of which is expected to run to $30,000.

If they are successful in their quest, others are sure to follow. Mining on countless occasions has been the forerunner of new colonization; and miners have led the pioneers to opening up distant lands to settlement and civilization, to new jobs, homes and fortunes for men and women. Who knows, today the Northwest Territories may be at the threshold of destiny!

SLED JOURNEY

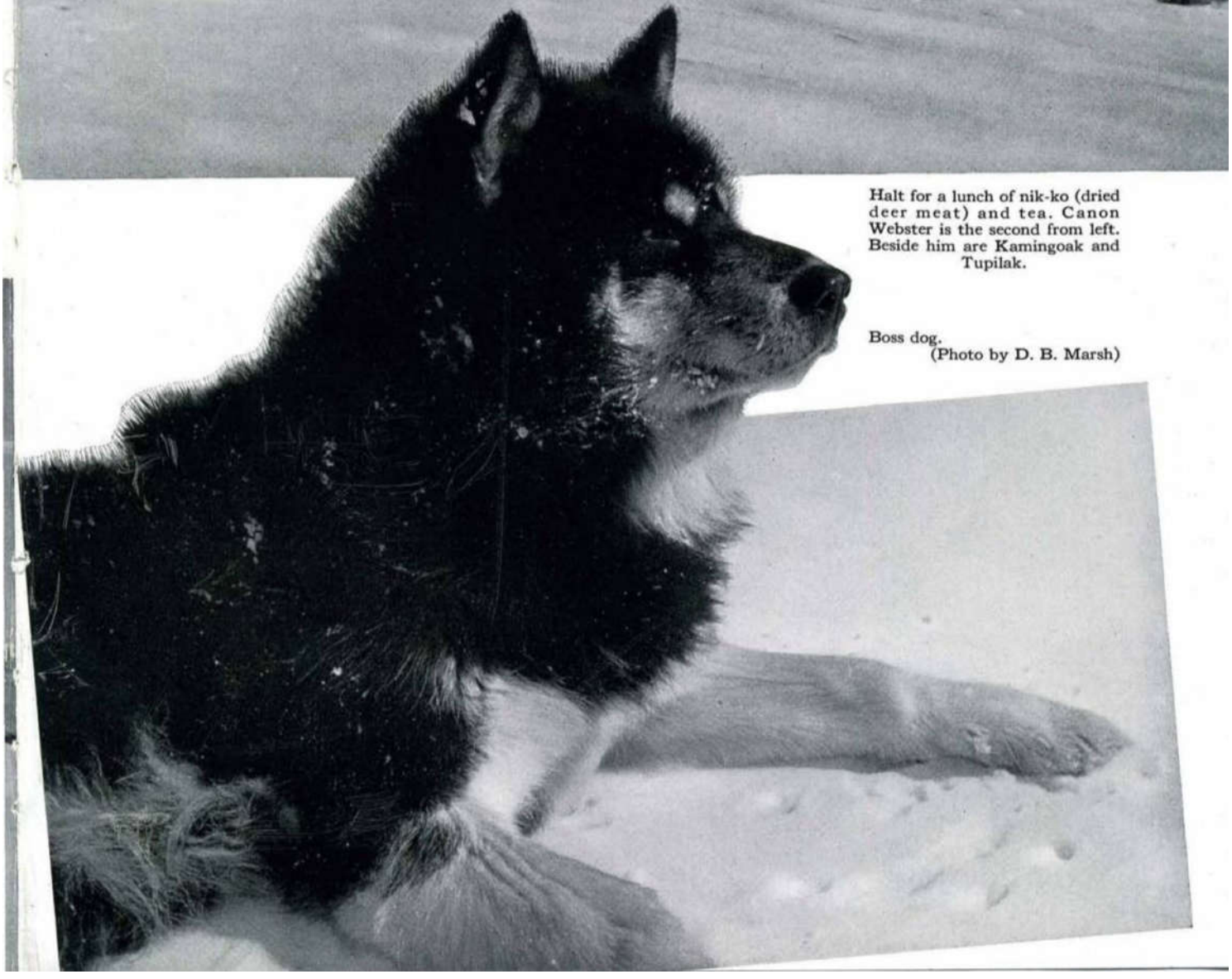
Photographs taken in the Western Arctic

by J. H. Webster

Tupilak is ready to start out with his team.

With runners well iced, the heavy komatik glides along over the hard packed snow. A seal has just been shot, and is being towed along to feed the dogs at camping time.

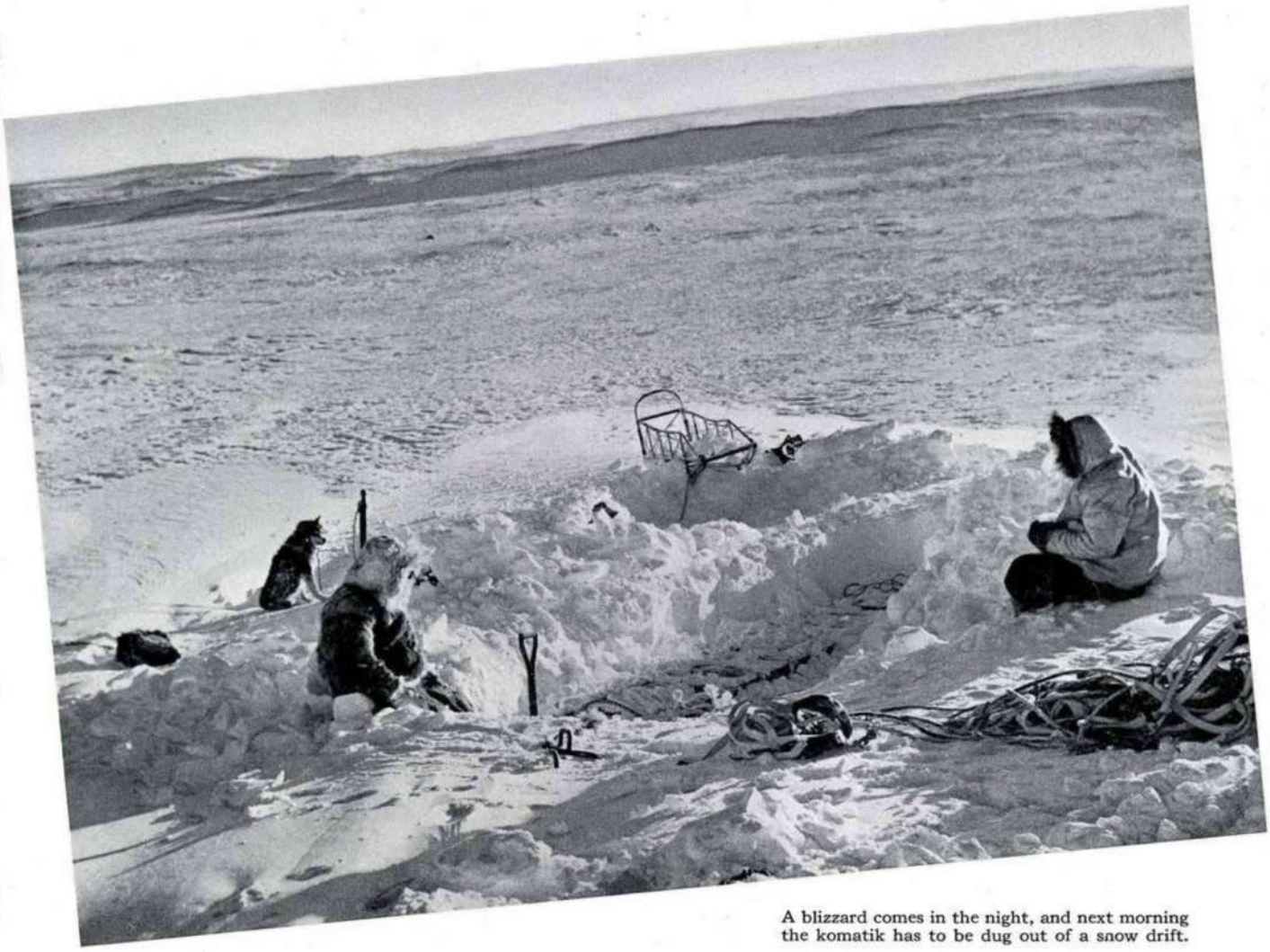
Halt for a lunch of nik-ko (dried deer meat) and tea. Canon Webster is the second from left. Beside him are Kamingoak and Tupilak.



Boss dog.
(Photo by D. B. Marsh)

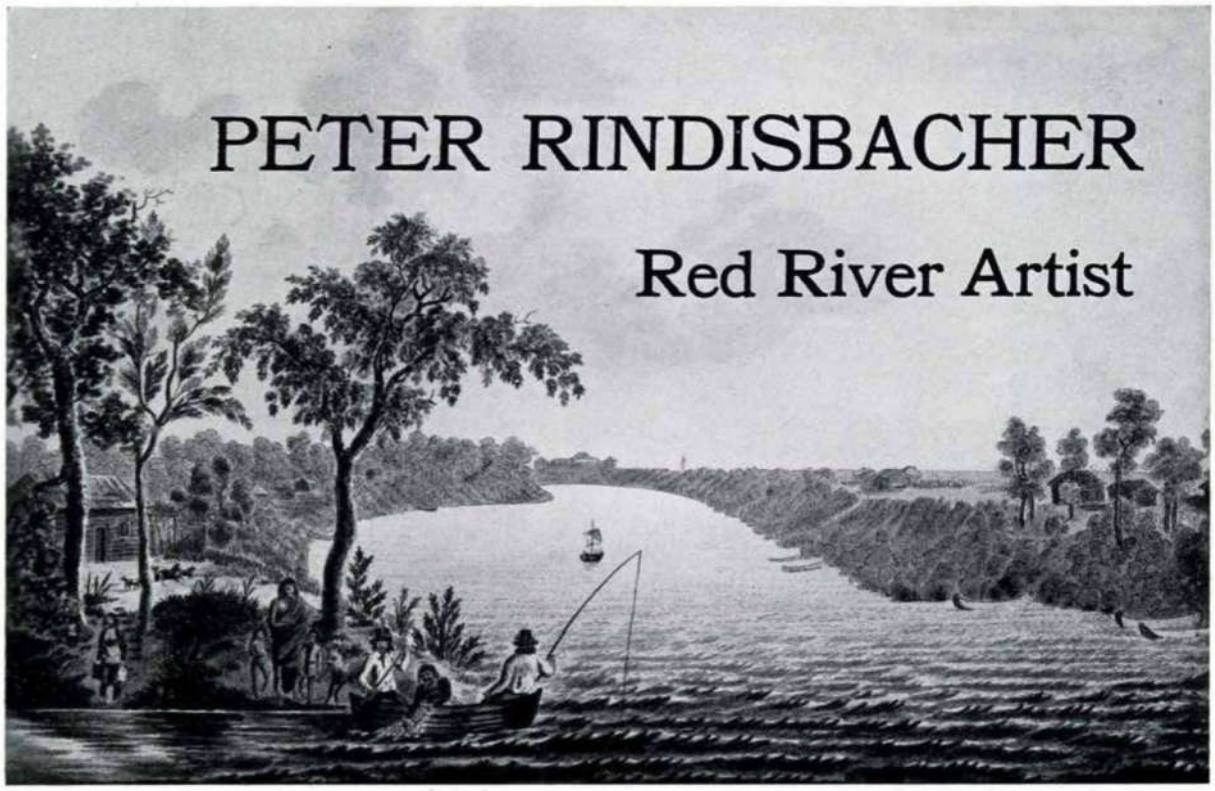
With deerskins removed, all hands help to build an igloo for the night.

Right: Bob Ikalukpiak.



A blizzard comes in the night, and next morning the komatik has to be dug out of a snow drift.

Away again on the trail among the hummocks.



PETER RINDISBACHER

Red River Artist

"Summer view in the Environs of the Company Fort Douglas on the Red River. Drawn from nature, July 1822." Fort Douglas is seen in the distance. A water colour by Rindisbacher in the Public Archives of Canada.

A symposium by three writers bringing to light new material on one of the earliest artists of the Canadian and American West.

"Rhinedesbacker, a young Swiss artist of uncommon talent, who, lured by his love of the picturesque, wandered far to the West, and spent several years upon our frontier, employing his pencil on subjects connected with the Indian modes of life. His was the fate of genius. His labours were unknown and unrequited. Few who saw the exquisite touches of his pencil knew their merit. They knew them to be graphic, but valued slightly the mimic presentations of familiar realities. They might wonder at the skill which placed on canvas the war dance, or the buffalo hunt, but they could not prize as they deserved, the copies of exciting scenes which they had familiarly witnessed. Since his death these beautiful pictures have attracted attention, and some of them have passed into the possession of those by whom they are properly appreciated."

—From McKenney & Hall's "Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1838.

I—HIS WORK AT RED RIVER

By Margaret Arnett MacLeod

IN the Public Archives at Ottawa are forty paintings by Peter Rindisbacher, Manitoba's first artist of note, who came to the Red River Settlement in 1821 with his parents; members of a party of one hundred and sixty-five persons, recruited from the cantons of Neuchatel, Vaud, Geneva and Berne in Switzerland. Peter, one of a family of five children, was only fifteen at the time, but he was already an artist of some merit. Outside of Lord Selkirk's sketch of Fort Douglas, Peter's brush alone has preserved for us the pictured scene of Canada's first western settlement and its times.

The journey of the Swiss settlers to Red River can be followed through a series of pictures in this collection. The young artist worked diligently. No doubt the novelty and interest of the ever changing scene intrigued him, impelling him to preserve it. But during the five years that group of people, unsuited by training and temperament to pioneer in a cold climate, stayed in Red River, there is no doubt Peter's pencil and brush were often driven by the family's desperate circumstances. His market for his pictures was Fort Garry, where orders for them were taken, and where he received goods and provisions in exchange.

However, the zest and spirit of his pictures indicate that what the young artist found in Red River was not the calamities but high adventure and romance, which far outweighed all its hardships. One of his first

pictures on arrival showed the North West Company's Fort Gibraltar being rebuilt into the new Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Garry. (See *The Beaver*, September 1940, page 6.) He also pictured the life of the Settlement in various phases. He painted the different types of settlers, their churches, interiors and exteriors of homes, and outdoor scenes such as fishing through the ice in winter. There can be no doubt that the Rindisbacher family migrated to the buffalo plains those first winters. But amid all the hardships there, Peter's busy fingers recorded only the picturesque: the thrills of the hunt, hunters charging the animals, the great unwieldy creatures themselves, Indians with dog-train or travois—with one exception: the murder of the Tully family in 1823. Peter was probably living with the buffalo hunters whose camp was near by at the time of the tragedy, and he may either have visited the scene himself or been supplied with details by those who had recently done so.

Peter Rindisbacher is listed among Switzerland's artists (though he left his native country before his career had begun), but merely as "born in 1806 at Upper Emmental [Canton of Berne] died at St. Louis [U.S.A.] in 1834" and as "self taught." However, it seems he was not wholly without tuition. In a fine piece of research,* Dr. Grace Lee Nute has discovered something of his early life; the family tradition of his passion for drawing as quite a small boy, of his playing the zither at eight years of age, and of being a drummer in a company of Bernese volunteers at ten. The family picture of him at this time is that of "a small boy sitting on his drum sketching." When he was twelve "he was taken by the painter Weibel into the Bernese Alps on a sketching tour, and," says Dr. Nute, "this man was probably Rindisbacher's only instructor in the technique of drawing and painting." Three years later came the family's migration to Red River, and Peter took with him a little sketch of the Swiss home he was leaving.

"A Savage of the Sautoux Indians on the Red River. Drawn to a twelfth part of his natural size." This is one of the few water colours in the Public Archives bearing the artist's initials.

An Eskimo family. One of three pencil sketches brought to Dr. Nute by C. H. Rindisbacher of Minocqua, Wis., great-grandnephew of the artist.

Captain Rodolphe de May, a Swiss officer formerly in the British service, an agent for Lord Selkirk's settlement at Red River, had recruited a party of fifty-seven adults, including heads of families who, with their children, in the spring of 1821 were loaded on two barges at Basle and sailed down the Rhine to embark for Hudson Bay. There were musicians, clock-makers, pastry-cooks, mechanics, a school-master, a wholesale merchant, a dentist, a veterinary surgeon, an apothecary, and evidently some riff-raff, all unsuited to agriculture and life in the primitive country to which they were going. Mrs. Waldenmaier, a descendant, writes, "They had high hopes of finding a land flowing freely with milk and honey, hopes conceived and fed by propagandist pamphlets." By their agreements each head of a family was to have a house and one hundred acres of land to be paid for in five years or more by a total of five hundred bushels of wheat.

At Red River, says Alexander Ross, the Swiss were found to be "quiet orderly people, an acquisition to any community . . . remarkable withal for the number of handsome lads and lasses among them." Later, in an official report on these colonists to Governor Bulger, by their leader, Dehouser, the Rindisbacher family were described as: "Rindisbacher, Pierre, 41, born Lauperswyl, Canton of Berne, veterinary surgeon, character good but not steady; wife Barbe, 37, character fair; sons, Chretien, 18, character fair; Pierre, 15, draughtsman, character good; Gautier, 2, adopted; daughters, Anne Barbe, 13, Cretienne, 10, Madeleine, 6, Verene, 4; religion, Reformed Church."

On arrival at Red River tragic hardships of near starvation and long bitter winter cold met the party of Swiss settlers. They evidently had little geographical knowledge of America, for just as they had been astounded to meet Eskimos on the voyage, so were they now surprised to find themselves not among "growing oranges, bananas and other tropical fruits," but in a land of ice and snow. They later stated they had thought themselves bound for the Red River of the South in Louisiana where they would be among French speaking people—a mistake the agent, evidently, had not troubled to correct. So they now felt they had been deceived. This would seem to have been so, for even

*See *Minnesota History*, September 1933 and March 1939.

Two of the coloured lithographs from the portfolio of six entitled "Views in Hudson's Bay." Left: "The Governor of Red River driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole." Right: "A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide." The gentleman is presumably the governor, Robert Parker Pelly.

George Simpson, Hudson's Bay Company governor in Rupert's Land, wrote Andrew Colvile, "Your Agent, Captn. Du May has certainly not done his duty conscientiously." He reported the printed notice issued in Switzerland to be "highly colored" and said that these people had been led to expect of the country "more than can be realized."

However, making the best of the situation, the Swiss for five years tried to settle and make a living. They had to migrate to the buffalo plains for the first four winters in order to exist. There, unable or without means to hunt, they merely kept body and soul together by serving the hunters and soon were parting with their few treasures for food. One man who had hoarded as his last possession a beautiful silver snuff-box, parted with it at last for half of a small fish. The five years were a procession of calamities climaxed by the flood of 1826, which swept away almost the entire Red River Settlement. So, thoroughly disheartened, the Swiss gathered their little remaining possessions and started for Louisiana and the Red River of the South, the Rindisbacher family among them.

It is through some carefully preserved private letters and letter books of Hudson's Bay Company officers that at this late date anything can be learned of Peter Rindisbacher's Red River career. The following extracts from private letters, used here by kind permission of the Champlain Society, reveal something of his character and methods of carrying on his business. By 1824 he had established prices for his pictures, by 1826 they had travelled to distant parts of Rupert's Land and to England.

George Barnston's correspondence with James Hargrave, accountant at Fort Garry, who evidently handled the artist's business, suggests that Barnston purchased pictures from Rindisbacher more than once; and though he referred to them as drawings, his offer of colours shows he meant paintings. He wrote from York Factory on November 14, 1824:

> Do not forget if you please my commission about the Drawings. The ones I should like to have in particular are—the Plain Indian on Horseback shooting at an enemy—the Group of Indians where the Scalp is introduced. Captain Bulger's Palaver—the death of the buffalo and two or three Buffalo Pieces in which I think the lad excells—as also travelling in winter with an Indian Guide before the sled—Of all these I have seen several different copies, so that I conclude he keeps one copy to take another from as occasion may require —A Subject at which I have not as yet seen any attempt of his, and which I should like much to have is—Assiniboines stealing Horses—perhaps you might propose it to him. If care were taken upon it, I would willingly double the usual price—You may go to the length of £6—in making purchases of this kind for me, but I beg you may be as liberal if not more so, than what others have been—I have a small drawing Box with a few Cakes of Paint, which is at the Young mans service if he is in want of anything of the Kind, and which can be easily forwarded to him by the Boats in Summer. By offering it as coming from yourself he may make less difficulty in accepting of it than if it were coming from a stranger.

Barnston was sent to the Columbia Department of the Hudson's Bay Company in the summer of 1826, but in February at Fort Alexander he wrote about further pictures: "Have the goodness to send me any Drawings Rindispacher may have for me by Mr. McDonald in the Spring *he* is careful."

In April he wrote again:

> Peter Rindispacher will put his own price on the Drawings for he is a conscientious lad, I believe—but the account must not exceed £15-0.0 nor the Drawings be fewer than will cost me £12-0.0 I do not wish to ask favors at present from Mr. Simpson, nor to be laid under any obligation to him, so if it do not inconvenience you I shall consider it a favor of you to manage the transaction as you think best. Your kind offer shews me you have always a *sneeshing* ready for a friend in need.

Henry Boulton of the next letter had been in the Service and at York Factory but had returned to England. Hargrave had just come from R.R. and wrote to him as follows in September 1826:

> Agreeably to your request I have procured from the Swiss lad in Red River a quantity of drawings descriptive of Scenes in the Indian Country, and which I have entrusted to the care of Mr. Chief Trader Brown (who visits England this season) with instructions that they be left at Hudson's Bay House to your address. A list of the Drawings accompanys them of which you will find a copy on the following page. By it you will perceive that the Amount of your Bill for £10 has not been entirely expended. This is occasioned by the unfortunate calamities which visited Red River Colony last spring and which prevented me from procuring all that I could have wished for you. I have consequently cancelled the Bill and debited your account with the amt. paid say £6.19.- The young lad together with his father and the whole of the family has left the River for the United States so that these which you received are the last by that young Artist which will be procured in this country. Please favor me with a few lines next spring advising me of the receipt of this, and whether the drawings have reached you in safety.

The business connected with the Boulton pictures was not finished, but there is nothing to throw light upon Hargrave's references in the following remarks to Duncan Finlayson, written at Red River Settlement on December 3, 1827:

> Please to recollect that Draft of Bolton's which I mentioned last fall. I was a good deal galled by the fellow's mean underhand enquiries, and I would wish to have it filed in the Office here. A hint to me, by the bye, how I again undertake commissions for one . . . I am unacquainted with.

Finlayson had not forgotten, for almost at the same time he wrote Hargrave:

I have searched all over the old files of papers but could not fall in with Boulton's dft. which makes me suppose the affair must have been communicated to you in a private letter. I have however found the statement of the articles you supplied Rindisbacher which is enclosed herewith.

It is not known whether the pictures supplied to William Smith, secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, referred to below, were a private purchase or not.

Writing from York Factory on September 10, 1826, Hargrave advised him:

Mr. F[rancis] Heron forwarded under cover to me last summer a parcel of drawings to your address with a request that I should transmit them by the safest conveyance I could procure. These I have placed in the hands of Mr. Miles in order that they may be enclosed in the Coys packet.

Wm. Smith replied on February 4, next year:

I have likewise to own yours of the 10th Sept. . . mentioning that you had put into Mr. Miles' charge some of the Swiss Youth's Drawings forwarded by Mr. Heron. I have the pleasure to say they have come safe to hand and that I feel much gratified with them.

Among these Champlain Society letters are some which refer to books of pictures made up by a Mr. Pelly and bought by several Company officers in Rupert's Land. J. G. McTavish at Moose Factory, writing to James Hargrave at York Factory on January 29, 1831, says:

I sold some copies of Mr. Pelly's pictures the last summer I was at York [1829] but to whom I do not exactly recollect —I believe however Alex Stewart John Clarke & John Stuart were the gentlemen please inquire of them and if you can make it out please charge 20/- ea. & give me credit as I pay Mr. Pelly.

Just two years later he wrote again about the pictures, referring to them as "Pelly's picture books," while in July 1834, he calls them "Mr. Pelly's prints." These, Mr. Wilson shows in part III of this article, were probably the sets of six coloured lithographs entitled *Views in Hudson's Bay*, now treasured by collectors, which undoubtedly originated in Rindisbacher sketches.

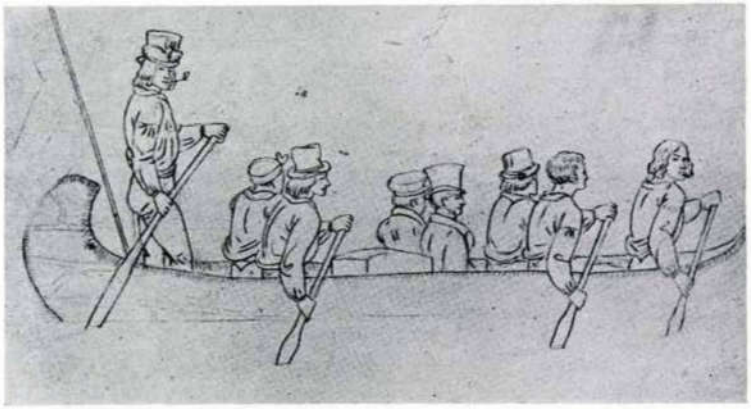
There is nothing to show that Peter ever was farther from Fort Garry than the buffalo plains, prior to the family's migration to the United States in 1826. In fact it is highly improbable, as travel over the Sioux infested prairies in those times was undertaken only of necessity and at risk of life.

He evidently did no pictures of the flood, a subject which must have appealed to his love of adventure, but no doubt he was hard pressed to execute standing orders before he left, which idea is suggested in one of the above letters. It would seem he carried with him to the States a full portfolio of his five years' work in Red River, since he did further copies of these pictures there which survive in American museums and art galleries as well as among his descendants. And on the journey south he probably welcomed the opportunity to dispose of some paintings at the next market that offered, Fort Snelling.

It would be interesting to know the fate of the many pictures Rindisbacher must have sold in Red River. The late Dr. Doughty bought the archives collection in England, but he never would say just how or where he came upon them. We have found traces of none except those bought by George Barnston. His Rindisbachers went to the Columbia with him in 1826, and after as varied a career as his own, they hung on the walls of his Montreal home after he retired in 1862 until 1888, five years after his death, when the house was sold. It is difficult to learn whether he ever received the exact pictures he ordered or if Rindisbacher ever did one of Assiniboines stealing horses, as he suggested. From the description of Barnston's pictures by his descendants, it is evident that besides originals, he also bought one of Mr. Pelly's books of lithographs. Three of his grandchildren recall the originals, "Norway House," "Rockfort," "Camp on Shores Lake Winnipeg," "York" and some Indian pictures. These, with the Rindisbacher lithographs, remained in the family until three years ago when unfortunately, they, with other mementoes of George Barnston, went up in a fire which destroyed a grand-daughter's home.

As Peter Rindisbacher's skill and proficiency grew, so did his fame, far from Red River. His pictures were carried to distant parts of the country and to England, but strangely enough no Red River chronicler has made mention of him. Alexander Ross, who came to the settlement in 1825, must have known him personally. So it is probable that in the desperate struggle for existence at that time in Red River no one realized the contribution the young Swiss boy was making to the history of his own time. His talent was such that had death not ended his career at the early age of twenty-eight, it is considered he would have ranked with Catlin and Paul Kane as one of the great delineators of life on the early North American plains. It is a question in what degree he merits that position today in the work of his few short years. Yet his name, in Manitoba as elsewhere, is practically unknown.

A comparison between these two pictures will indicate the origin of the "Views in Hudson's Bay." Left: One of the pencil sketches by Rindisbacher now owned by C. H. Rindisbacher, to which Dr. Nute refers. Right: One of the lithographs from the portfolio, entitled "The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe 1824."



II—NEW DISCOVERIES

By Grace Lee Nute

Just as Mrs. MacLeod and Mr. Wilson were collaborating to write of Peter Rindisbacher, his great grandnephew appeared at the Minnesota Historical Society with three little sketches herewith reproduced. By means of one of them it is possible to say with fair certainty that Rindisbacher drew his sketches in the field expecting later to fill in certain details. How cleverly and with what an accurate eye he put down his first impressions may be judged by comparing the sketch of "Chippewa Mode of Traveling in Winter" with the exquisite water colour made from it and now preserved in the Ordnance Museum at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. A reproduction of the water colour is shown here. It will be seen that everything essential is in the draft except colours. In fact, the sketch is better in some respects than the finished product, *e.g.*, the paddle held in the child's hand, the dogs, and some features of dress, such as the brave's gartering.

A sketch of much value for students of voyageur and canoe customs is included in the trio. I know of no other contemporary artist except John Halkett, and Mrs. F. A. Hopkins of slightly later date, who portrays life in a canoe as accurately and succinctly as Rindisbacher. Note how the paddles are held, how the steersman stands as he guides, where and how bourgeois are placed in this light canoe, the yoke style of shirt worn at the time, the length of the canoeists' hair, the types of headgear worn in the Red River country as distinguished from French Canadian voyageur styles, the clay pipe, the two styles of paddles, and the manner by which the birch rind was sewed to the gunwales of the canoe. Faintly, in the end of the canoe, can be seen a flag, probably that of the H B C.

Quite different from the other two sketches is the one of the Eskimos. This is more detailed than the others, indicating that the theme was new to Rindisbacher and that he could not afford to leave too much to his memory. Perhaps a finished picture based on this sketch may turn up, too. Let us hope so.

III—PELLY'S PICTURE BOOKS

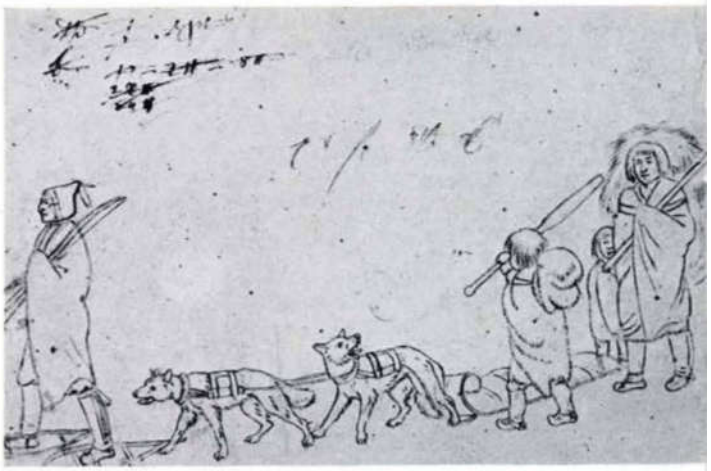
By Clifford Wilson

The pencil sketches brought to Dr. Nute by Peter Rindisbacher's great-grandnephew, and referred to above, help to establish beyond any reasonable doubt the origin of "Pelly's Picture Books" mentioned by J. G. McTavish in 1833, and referred to by Mrs. MacLeod. These books were undoubtedly made up of the now well known set of six coloured lithographs entitled "VIEWS IN HUDSON'S BAY, Taken by a Gentleman on the spot in the years 1823 and 1824. Illustrative of the Customs, Manners and Costumes of those Tribes of North American Indians amongst whom Capt. Franklin passed in his present and former arduous undertaking." Sets of these are to be found, among other places, in the Public Archives of Canada, the Archives of British Columbia, the William H. Coverdale Collection at the Manoir Richelieu, the H B C Archives and the Manitoba Provincial Library. Their origin appears to have been as follows:

Captain Andrew Bulger was governor of the Red River Settlement in 1822 and 1823. While in that office he conceivably commissioned Rindisbacher to paint a number of water colours in which he was the central figure—driving in his horse cariole, riding in a canoe, meeting the Indians, and so on. One of these is referred to by George Barnston, writing to James Hargrave on November 14, 1824, (see above) as "Captain Bulger's Palaver." Another depicts Bulger meeting the chief from Red Lake and his followers outside the fort, of which design various versions are illustrated here.

It is presumed that the following developments then took place:

After Robert Parker Pelly succeeded Bulger as governor in September 1823, he saw copies of these paintings



The origin of the top picture, taken from "Views in Hudson's Bay," is obvious when it is compared with the two below it. The first is a lithograph entitled "A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg." The second is a pencil sketch by Rindisbacher, now owned by his great-grandnephew. The third is a beautifully finished water colour by Rindisbacher in the Ordnance Museum at West Point, entitled "Chippewa Mode of Traveling in Winter."

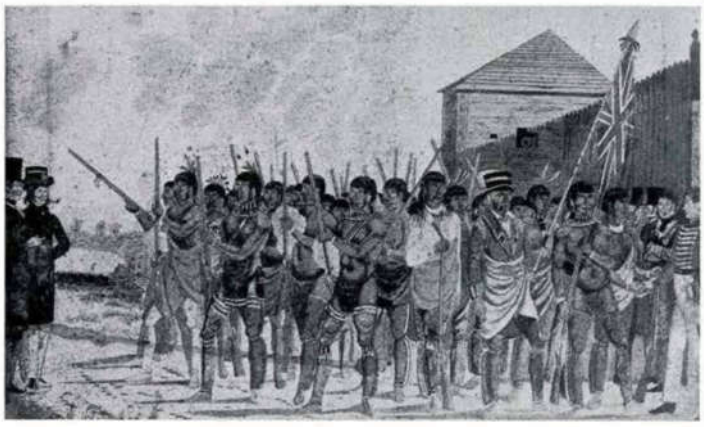
and ordered a set of six. When Pelly returned to the Old Country in 1825, he asked an artist, H. Jones, R.I.A., to make copies showing Pelly instead of Bulger as the central figure, and from them the coloured lithographs were made by W. Day of 59 Great Queen Street, London. Pelly then sent copies of these—or possibly the original drawings by either Rindisbacher or Jones—to the Governor and Committee; for a letter to him from the secretary of the Company, dated June 20, 1827, thanks him for "the drawings illustrative of the customs, &c of some of the tribes of Indians in the territory of the Company," with which the Governor and Committee are "much pleased." Pelly later sent sets of the lithographs to Rupert's Land, where they were bought up by various officers, as Mrs. MacLeod shows.

A glance at some of the sketches and lithos reproduced here will substantiate these theories. First, let us take the rough sketch of the Indian family travelling in winter, to which Dr. Nute refers, and compare it with the Day litho entitled "A Souteaux Indian Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg." The similarity is obvious. The former was done by Rindisbacher, the latter by H. Jones and W. Day.

Next, compare the rough sketch of the canoeists with "The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay, Voyaging in a Light Canoe." Here the resemblance is not so striking. But note the similarity between the headgear of the passengers and some of the paddlers, the position of the flag, and the fact that, in each case, the steersman is standing while the bowsman is kneeling. Yet, while there is life and action in Rindisbacher's figures, there is none whatever in Day's.

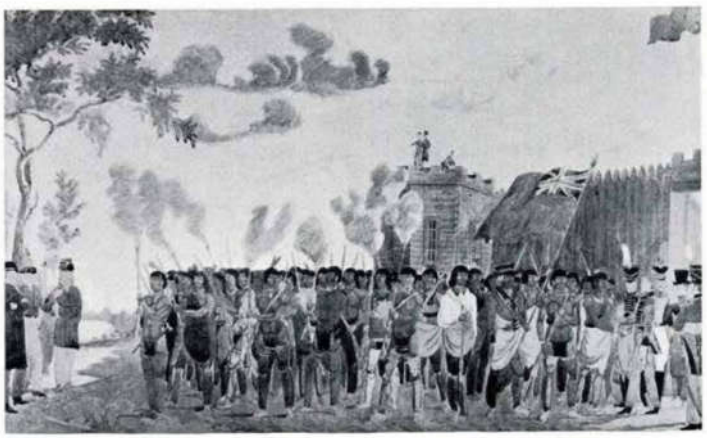
The most striking comparisons are of course those to be made between the four pictures of the Indians firing a salute outside the fort. The fort in the two lithos and the large oil painting is obviously Fort Douglas—as may be seen by comparing it with "The Governor of Red River, Driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole" and with Lord Selkirk's sketch of the fort. But in the McCord Museum water colour, although the design is the same, the structure of the bastion is more elaborate. Hon. Robert MacKay, in a note pasted to the back of this picture, states that "The original picture was painted upon the spot [Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin] by a drummer boy, a Swiss." The truth of the matter probably is that Capt. Bulger, who is the principal figure in the scene, commissioned the former Swiss drummer boy, Peter Rindisbacher, to paint this picture for him seven or eight years later, when they were both at Red River. Judge MacKay's statement about this sketch says in part:

> The scene is at Fort Mackay, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, on the Upper Mississippi. Fort Mackay was originally erected in 1814 and called Fort Shelby, after the U.S. Governor of Kentucky. It was captured from the Americans 19 July 1814, and its name changed to that of my father, who commanded the expedition, from Michilimacinac, which effected the capture.
>
> My father returned to Michilimacinac, and Lt., afterwards Capt., Bulger was given the command of all the British forces on the Mississippi. On the 29 October 1814 he left M for Fort Mackay (distance over 500 miles) and after terrible difficulties owing to the lateness of the season, and the frost, arrived at Fort M on 30 of Nov 1814. He assumed the administration there, proclaiming martial law.
>
> The time represented is 22 May 1815, the War having been put to an end by the Treaty of Ghent of Dec 24, 1814.
>
> Capt. B. is represented bidding adieu to the Chiefs and principal Indians in the Fort on their abandoning the place.
>
> . . . The famous Black Hawk [see *The Beaver*, March 1945, page 42] was one of the Indian chiefs in the Br. Fort a week before its being evacuated.



Above: Two coloured lithos which probably originated in Rindisbacher sketches. Upper: Governor Pelly at Fort Douglas, by W. Day after H. Jones. It is entitled "The Red Lake Chief with some of his Followers arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor." Lower: A lithograph presented to the Company in 1934 by a descendant of William Kempt, who is probably shown in the picture.

Below: Two original paintings of the same subject. Upper: A water colour sketch in the McCord Museum, possibly done by Rindisbacher, and said to represent Capt. Bulger at Prairie du Chien in 1814. Lower: A large oil painting, companion to the interior view on the next page, owned by W. A. Bulger. Governor Bulger (extreme right) has features similar to the corresponding figure in the Kempt litho.



Two versions of the same scene. Left: An oil painting (3′x2′) owned by W. A. Bulger of Biggar, Saskatchewan, a descendant of Governor Bulger, who is shown seated. Right: One of the set of six Pelly lithographs, "The Red Lake Chief Making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825," showing Governor Pelly in the chair. According to Mrs. M. Barnston Leupold, the white man on Pelly's right in the latter is her grandfather, George Barnston. (See *The Beaver,* December 1941.)

The Kempt litho shown here was possibly done from one of Rindisbacher's originals. It closely resembles the water colour in many details, and the figures are more lifelike than in the Day litho. William Kempt was sheriff of Red River from 1822-4, and acted as governor between Bulger's departure and Pelly's arrival.

As for the two large oil paintings, these are the property of W. A. Bulger of Biggar, Saskatchewan, a descendant of the governor. Both bear labels pasted on the backs, one "*The Salute.* The Indians receiving the Governor outside Fort Douglas, Red River Settlement"; the other, "Council with the Chippeways of Red Lake, June 1823. Pegowis the Chippeway Chief thanking the Governor for the flag and medal presented to him." And both are stated to represent "scenes in the life of the late Capt. Andrew Bulger."

The date of the meeting and the identification of the Red Lake chief as Peguis are open to question. William H. Keating, who arrived at the settlement on August 13, 1823—a few days after Bulger had left—states in his *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* that while there he "had an interview with an old Chippewa Chief, the leader of a party that resides near Red Lake. . . . We have omitted to record his name; by the French traders he is called the Blackman, *homme noir.*" Keating also gives a portrait of him.

This man may possibly have been one of the signatories to the treaty of 1817 between Selkirk and the chiefs along the Red River. The treaty was signed by Peguis as well as by "Kayajieskebinoa, *L'Homme Noir,*" whose hunting grounds are shown on the treaty map as opposite the mouth of the Red Lake River. Peguis' hunting grounds are shown much further north.

Unfortunately Mr. Bulger can give us no information as to the origin of these paintings, except that they were handed down in the family. A few of Rindisbacher's oils are still extant, but it is difficult to say whether these two are his own work or done by some other artist from his water colours. The work is meticulous, especially the bead and quill work worn by the Indians. Rindisbacher was certainly a most careful worker, as witness these remarks by a contemporary authority on his "War Dance of the Sauks and Foxes," which forms the frontispiece to volume I of McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes:*

"The figures are spread out so as to show their faces, which are the best miniature likenesses I ever beheld. . . . Every feather in the picture, is an exact resemblance of the thing itself, and so is each war club, with its looking glass inserted in it. The whole, and every part of this beautiful painting, represent the reality itself, in a masterly manner, and do great honour to the talent of the artist."

Dr. Stern, of the Dominion Gallery, Montreal, has examined Mr. Bulger's paintings, and has given it as his opinion that they were painted some time between 1830 and 1870. He also believes that the portraits of the white men—for they appear to be actual portraits—were done by a different hand than that which painted the rather stereotyped Indians. The canvas bears on the back what appears to be the seal of the Irish Linen Board, which was discontinued in 1828. It consists of the GR monogram, with the word "Linens" and the number 256. There is no trace of an artist's signature on either of the canvases.

As mentioned by Dr. Nute in her article in *Minnesota History* for March 1939, eighteen Rindisbacher water colours are in the Ordnance Museum at West Point. It is evident from their finished technique that they were done some years after those in the Public Archives at Ottawa. Their subjects indicate that most of the original sketches were made before 1826 during his Red River Settlement period—as witness "Chippewa Mode of Traveling in Winter." But the finished paintings must have been executed when his abilities had become much more highly developed—perhaps shortly before his death in 1834.

In time, more light will doubtless be shed on the origin of all these paintings, as well as of the lithographs. In the meantime, we can say that the following assumptions may be made:

1. Young Rindisbacher made his sketches sometimes by following his own ideas, sometimes at the request of others.

2. He made several copies, with variations, of the most popular—just as a photographer of today makes several prints to order off a good negative. And he made these over a period of several years.

3. Copies were also made of his drawings by other artists and by lithographers.

4. When Pelly returned to England, he commissioned an artist called H. Jones, R.I.A., to copy six of Rindisbacher's pictures, with his own portrait substituted for that of Governor Bulger, and after getting them lithographed in London, made up books of them for sale at £1 each in the Hudson's Bay territories and elsewhere. These are the portfolios of coloured lithos, now quite rare but well known to collectors, entitled "Views in Hudson's Bay."

McLoughlin's Letters, 1844-46

Edited by E. E. Rich *With an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb*

A review of seventh volume of the Hudson's Bay Record Society

by Burt Brown Barker

THIS is the seventh volume issued by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, and the third in the series of McLoughlin's Letters. It is with a tinge of regret that we read in the preface by E. E. Rich, editor: "This volume completes the publication of the letters of John McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and brings his career as a servant of the Company to an end."

Dr. Lamb, who has written the introduction to each of these three volumes, consequently brings to a close, in this volume, his biography of Dr. McLoughlin which seems destined to be the standard work on the life of this picturesque character, so prominent in the early development of Oregon and of the Northwest.

Dr. Lamb has been faithful to his documents and from them has portrayed, for the first time, the true character of his subject. To sail such a biography safely between the Scylla and Charybdis of tradition and myth is the work of a true helmsman in the strait of historical research. Posterity will owe him much.

His introduction to the first series traced the events of the Pacific Fur Company, and of the North West Company to the coalition with the Hudson's Bay Company, sufficiently to give a background for the appointment of Dr. McLoughlin to the recently organized Columbia District. It then reviewed the early career of McLoughlin. Dr. Lamb was able to establish the fact that McLoughlin's honeymoon with the Company began to draw to an end in 1834, thus destroying the teaching of some that he was at outs with Simpson as early as 1824, when the site of Fort Vancouver was selected. There is much evidence that up to 1834 Simpson was on very good terms with McLoughlin, who was developing the Columbia District in a most satisfactory manner.

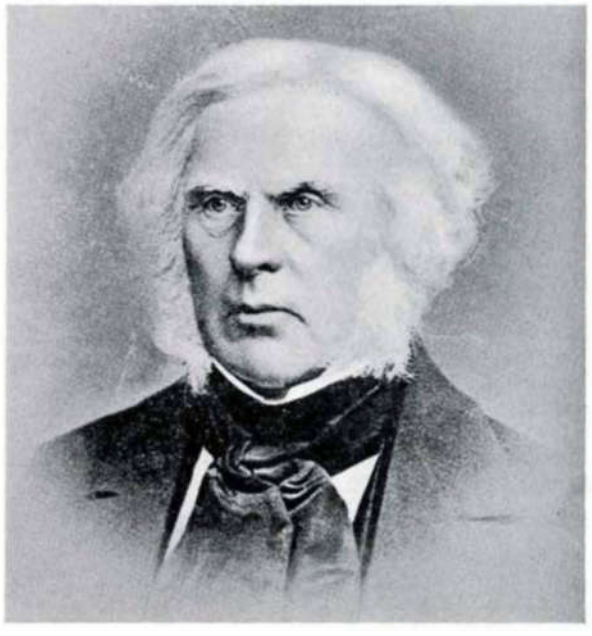
The second series of letters is taken up almost entirely with the discussion, firstly of the differences which sprang up between McLoughlin and Simpson over the method of carrying on the coastal trade, which began with the *Nereide* incident and was perpetuated by the presence of the steamer *Beaver*; and secondly with the quarrel which developed over the murder of Dr. McLoughlin's son John.

The dividing line between the second and the third series is not so logical as between the first and the second. Although the fight over the death of John Jr. continued on and on unjustifiably on the part of Dr. McLoughlin, still he continued to manage the affairs of the Columbia District apparently unconscious of the trend of events in the minds of the Governor and Committee. But he was coming into the bitter years of his decline, as brought out clearly in the third series.

The question of retaining the post in California was one of several matters that was causing great uneasiness in London. Early in his management of the Columbia Department, McLoughlin had considered opening trade to the south, but the actual opening of it was delayed long after it had been approved, due probably to the shortage of vessels to carry on the trade. Whatever the real reason, a dispute arose over the opening of the post which in the end developed into an argument second only to that over the *Beaver*. Finally McLoughlin was again overruled and forced to sell the property in San Francisco and close the business. This was another burr under the blanket which the letters have brought out in full for the first time. The tragedy was two-fold in that McLoughlin was humiliated in being forced to close the post, and in the further fact that his son-in-law, William Glen Rae, manager of the post, committed suicide.

But this was not to be the end of the troubles. He was soon in difficulties over the title to the property in Oregon City. When the claim was located originally, there seems to be little doubt but that it was for the Company. But as the years went by McLoughlin seems to have become convinced that the local feeling against the Company was such that the property could not be held by it, and accordingly the alternative was for him to represent to the public that it was his own property. During this time, two mills were in the process of erection. In order to be able to prove that it was his property, should he be questioned, McLoughlin decided to send the Company drafts in the amount of the costs of the mills with an accompanying statement that he was buying the property. By so doing, he certainly exposed his flank, Simpson, already tired of haggling with him, saw the opening, and although he admitted that the letter accompanying the drafts left

Chief Factor, Dr. John McLoughlin.
Oregon Historical Society.



a doubt in his mind as to what McLoughlin intended, still he could not resist the temptation to make the flank attack, and accordingly forwarded the drafts to London with the recommendation that they be accepted and the mills be turned over to McLoughlin.

Then followed another long and spirited controversy. McLoughlin contended that he was merely making a gesture, or pretense of purchase, in order to protect the Company in case there should be an attack on the property. But Simpson and the Governor and Committee preferred to look on it as a bona-fide transaction leaving McLoughlin in possession of the property. This was the set up which made the finishing stroke possible. It was simple to transfer McLoughlin to a distant post, which would at once force him to choose between protecting his own interest in the mills and the Company's service. McLoughlin saw this and resigned. By such a procedure he was forced out. The truth is that his position had long since become intolerable, and the Company had decided that a change was necessary. The question of the intent of McLoughlin to make a bona-fide purchase of the mills at Oregon City will long be one over which scholars will spill much ink. Dr. Lamb thinks "the balance of the evidence seems to tip against McLoughlin," and he cites an imposing array of reasons therefor which are difficult to answer.

At best there was uncertainty as to McLoughlin's intent. Simpson admitted it and said, "your letter on this subject, is not, to my apprehension, quite distinct, but I draw from it and from Mr. Mactavish—who had communications with you thereon verbally, that your object is to purchase the mills." Two things stand out; namely, (1) that McLoughlin's letter of transmittal has not been found, so others may judge of that intent; and (2) that Simpson deliberately resorted to oral evidence, in the absence of McLoughlin, to find a construction of an admittedly doubtful intent in a written instrument. That is neither cricket nor a position easy to defend legally.

Had the situation not been so critical, Simpson probably would have referred the matter back to McLoughlin for confirmation. But Dr. Lamb explains this by saying, "it suited both his [Simpson's] purposes and those of the Governor and Committee not to do so." Therein lies the gist of the case. But is that the proper procedure to follow in order to determine an intent?

McLoughlin immediately protested this interpretation and said he would never have made the offer had he known of the impending changes. This is not necessarily an admission of an intent to purchase on his own behalf. It can equally mean that had he known of the impending changes he would not have made the offer because the purpose for which the offer was made, namely to protect the Company, would no longer exist. And, so the argument can go on indefinitely, and, until the original letter of transmittal is produced, the question of intent seems destined to remain unsettled.

The letter of Dr. McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee dated Nov. 20, 1845, setting forth in seventy-five paragraphs covering fifty-four printed pages, his position in the whole matter, is, in the opinion of the writer, his most outstanding letter in this final volume. As a rule McLoughlin was inclined to write long and involved sentences resulting in obscurity. But this letter is clear, concise and well argued. Considering all the grief he had suffered and feeling, as he must have, that he had been caught in a trap, nevertheless he closed with these words: "Though I am treated in a different manner to what I expected, and very far from what I consider myself entitled to, with best wishes for the prosperity of the trade and with full confidence that time will prove if I have done my best to promote it or not, I have the honor to remain," etc.

This letter shows him at his best although the curtain was being rolled down forever on his connection with the Company.

Students of the life of Dr. McLoughlin and of the history of the Pacific Northwest owe the Hudson's Bay Company a deep debt of gratitude for the publication of the three volumes of McLoughlin's letters. In the Pacific Northwest he was fast becoming a legend, and, unfortunately, one much in need of revision. Because of his position in the development of this section of the United States his legendary status was fast following the pattern of all undocumented heroes—unduly condemned by his enemies and equally unduly praised by his friends. And, as is the pattern, with the passage of time both his faults and his virtues were assuming undue proportions. Because his later years were known to be lonely and full of grief, the sympathy thus aroused had tended to cause his virtues to become legendary and to tinge his admirers with hero worship. This was reflected in several recent pseudo-biographies, with the result that tales markedly traditional had begun to appear in the schools, resulting in the students getting a wrong conception of the character of the old doctor.

For the first time Dr. Lamb has produced a documented protrait, and it is to be hoped that henceforth Dr. McLoughlin will be recognized as the man he was and not the myth he was becoming.

Research students now have in these volumes a rich store of original source material with which to work. It is to be hoped that, among other things, the publication of this material will correct the too often made charges that the Company dealt unfairly with Dr. McLoughlin. Documents thus far published prove conclusively that it faithfully fulfilled its contract with him; never cut off his income; paid in full all its contractual obligations even after his death, and never made him assume the debts of any pioneer. Also these documents should explode the myth that the Hudson's Bay Company was trying to seize Oregon, or that there was an Eliza-Little Eva rescue of Oregon from the British bloodhounds. The documents show conclusively that the British had contended for years that the Columbia River should be the dividing line, and hence, Oregon being to the south thereof, the state was never claimed by Britain, and so could not have been rescued. Gone also is the myth that the post in San Francisco was a bye-play to seize California. The letters show most clearly that it was purely a financial venture. These are but a few illustrations of the many myths which are being exploded as these documents are printed.

This reviewer has but one pet grievance, and that is that the entire series is being published without the volume number appearing on the shelf-back thereof, although references are being made by this volume number, which now appears only on the inside fly-leaf. As an offset it is noted, however, that Dr. Lamb in all his introductions has gone beyond the documents appearing in the respective volumes and has cited, and occasionally quoted from, other documents in the archives, thus indicating to scholars other available material and at the same time enriching his study.

Ann Webster in two white foxes and a hat of rabbit skin. *L. A. Learmonth*

Arctic Fur Show

The season's catch of foxes was being baled up at Coppermine last spring, when three of the local belles happened by. That gave District Inspector L. A. Learmonth—always on the lookout for "Beaver" pictures—an idea. With the assistance of Mrs. J. H. Webster, some of the choicest skins were strung together and draped over the girls' shoulders, while little hats were made of rabbit and wolverine fur. Some of the happy results are pictured here.

Two Eskimo girls, Paulette in red foxes and Doris in silvers, with Ann in a cape of whites. *L. A. Learmonth*

Before baling up the furs in the press on the right, L. A. Learmonth and Mrs. Webster choose some furs for the fashion show. *J. H. Webster*

ATMOSPHERIC DEFENCE

Now it can be told how H B C "brass-pounders" helped guard our northern approaches.

by S. G. L. Horner

FOR the past five years the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North have carried on their duties both for the Company and the Government, in an atmosphere of secrecy, necessitated by the war. Now, however, with all censorship regulations removed, the story can be told of the great service rendered by the northern staff, situated at the hundred and one posts (this is literally the correct figure) at which the Company operates private commercial radio stations. Reference was made to this in a censored form in the March 1941 *Beaver*.

Away back in 1940, when most people were talking of "this phony war," steps were being taken in Ottawa to organize some system of alert to guard the closely knit industrial areas in Canada bordering on the Great Lakes, from Fort William to Kingston, and on the St. Lawrence, from Kingston to Quebec City. It was realized that enemy planes, bombers or otherwise, coming in on a direct flight or else from secret bases or ships, would probably arrive from the north, particularly from that area bordering Labrador, and Hudson Bay and Straits. Radar equipment at that time was practically undeveloped on this side of the Atlantic Ocean, therefore, some alerting system had to be devised that would enable fighter squadrons to be ready for enemy planes approaching from the north.

The R.C.A.F. was appointed the chief instrument to organize the proposed alert system, which became known as the Aircraft Detection Corps. This corps consisted entirely of civilians doing their everyday work, but who, at the same time, were on watch for planes or vessels, and who were in a position to report them by some form of radio or telegraphic communication. In the north, this work fell almost entirely to the lot of the Fur Trade personnel, as the Company fur traders were the only people with an organized radio communication system in these remote areas, that could flash news of planes or vessels to the few government stations located in the North. These in turn, were in contact with telegraphic outlets to the south.

The following extract from the original correspondence on the subject indicates how the first steps came about that brought the Company's northern posts into the picture.

"Department of National Defence,
D.M. Ottawa
Canada
May 6, 1940.

SECRET

Aircraft Detection Corps

Dear Sir:

The Royal Canadian Air Force has been allotted the task of organizing and controlling the formation of a Corps known as the Aircraft Detection Corps, the function of which will be to observe and report on the approach of raiding enemy aircraft on Canadian territory. Reports submitted by the Aircraft Detection Corps will enable the defence forces to operate against these aircraft as efficiently as possible. . . .

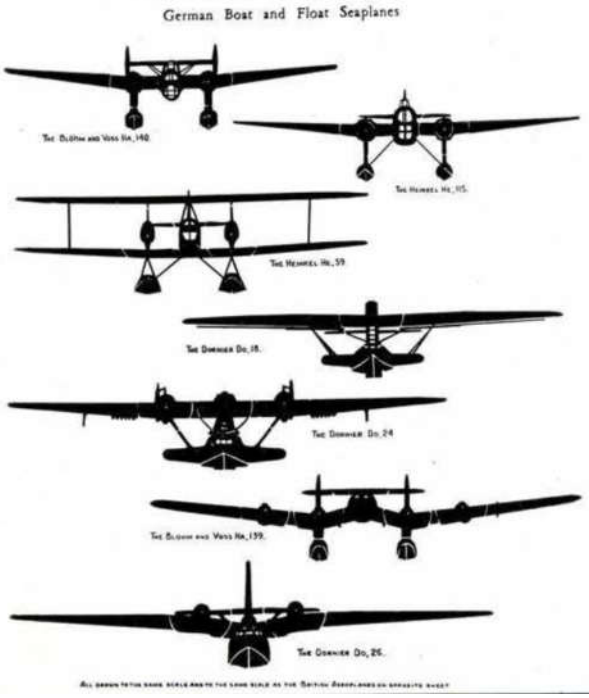
The Hudson's Bay Company, it is felt, can help us in this project in two ways: first of all, by having its various trading posts throughout Canada and on the Labrador act as collection agencies for the receipt of all information relative to strange aircraft movements in the surrounding territory; secondly, by the use of the facilities of its various radio stations. . . .

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.) Jas. S. Duncan,
Acting Deputy Minister.
(Air Services)

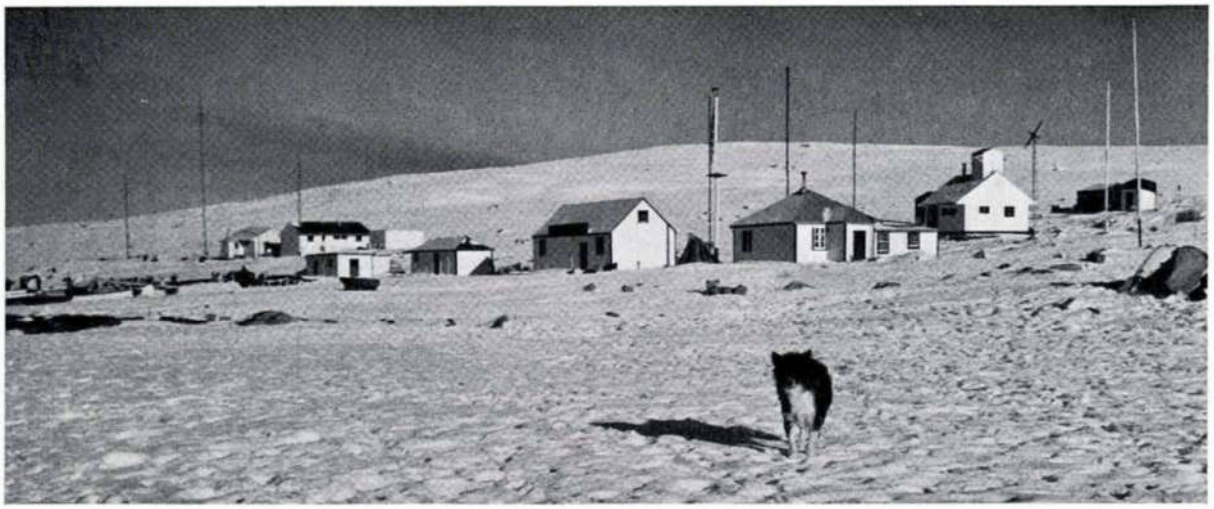
General Manager,
Hudson's Bay Company,
Winnipeg, Manitoba."

From the above date onwards, until the end of summer 1940, the head office of the Fur Trade Department in Winnipeg was kept extremely busy organizing, in conjunction with the R.C.A.F., all the necessary

One of the identification cards with which members of the Aircraft Detection Corps were provided.



Robert Crate, Indian clerk at Cumberland House, who learned to operate a radio at that historic post, sends out a message.



This picture was printed in "The Beaver" two years ago, but identification of it was not allowed. Left, the ionospheric station at Clyde; centre, the H B C post; right, the U.S.A.A.F. radio station. *J.W.A.*

details such a scheme as this involved. Speed was essential, for apart from the fact that the "phony war" would not go on forever, the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship *Nascopie* sailed on July 10 for the North, and this was the one and only chance of getting details of the system to the Company posts located in Baffin Land and on the shores of Hudson Bay and Straits. All necessary R.C.A.F. forms and documents were rushed through by their printers, while the Fur Trade prepared all the necessary inter-departmental papers and instructions to their employees which would enable the system to go into operation on receipt of them by the various posts.

Many technical matters had to be ironed out. For instance, means had to be evolved for the Company radio stations to alert their government control stations anytime throughout the twenty-four hours, for it must be borne in mind that these low-powered Company stations, located in the desolate wastes of the Arctic, had up to this time been communicating, in most cases, only with their control stations, three times a week.

However, due to the closest kind of co-operation between the R.C.A.F. Headquarters in Ottawa, and the Fur Trade Department, all the various complications were straightened out, and by freeze-up in the fall of 1940, all the Arctic posts of the Company had been properly organized into an efficient Aircraft Detection Corps that tied in with the Department of Transport and Royal Canadian Signal Corps stations that were on twenty-four hour watch. During the winter of 1940-41, radio equipped posts not quite so isolated, and with some means of obtaining mail a few times a year, were further organized and included in the Aircraft Detection Corps.

In 1942 when Germany's air power was at its peak and things looked really bad, the central part of northern Canada was considered vital as an alert area in order to protect the United States iron industries and the iron ore traffic through the Sault Ste. Marie canal. More Company posts in that area were consequently organized as part of the Aircraft Detection Corps. In some cases, extra radio alarm equipment was either supplied by the R.C.A.F., or bought by the Company for the R.C.A.F. to complete a 24-hour-a-day radio link with established telegraph or radio circuits. All this involved more organization by the Fur Trade Department, as well as technical arrangements to permit of further installation of radio stations and arrange calling circuits.

From the summer of 1942, all the Company radio stations in the north continued to act as part of the Aircraft Detection Corps, day in and day out, until the Aircraft Detection Corps was disbanded in July 1945.

Evidence of the efficiency of the A.D.C. work performed by the northern staff of the Fur Trade, situated at these remote radio-equipped posts, can be seen from the fact that one government radio station, which acted as the control for a large number of Company stations in the Hudson Bay and Strait area, handled over 80 A.D.C. messages in a month.

Important as the A.D.C. work was, as carried out by the personnel at the Fur Trade radio stations, that of handling meteorological reports was doubly so. At the outbreak of war, five company radio stations in the north sent two standard synoptic weather messages daily, to the Meteorological Service of Canada, who used them daily at their forecasting centres in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Toronto. However, immediately it became necessary to get planes over to Britain by air rather than by boat, due to the huge losses by enemy sinkings, more and more weather reports were needed from the North.

At many posts, such as Fort McKenzie and Nitchequon, P.Q., and Arctic Bay, N.W.T.—most northerly meteorological station in the British Empire—the low-powered Company radio stations were not considered adequate for handling the weather observations on the hourly basis now required, and this necessitated more powerful radio equipment and special weather instruments. This in turn meant the erection of new buildings, for at these isolated posts, buildings are kept to a bare minimum due to the cost of erection and the problem of heating them. However, the services of the Fur Trade building division were made available by the Company, and special type northern buildings were designed and all material collected and shipped, together with carpenters, to the places mentioned, with the result that the Government had suitable buildings of a permanent nature ready at these posts, as soon as the new radio and weather equipment arrived.

Manpower shortage made it necessary for the northern staff of the Company at these posts, to carry on with this work, depite their limited training in radio and meteorology, until the Government eventually had specially trained staff sent in to take over the radio-meteorological duties. At other posts from which weather observations were considered of great importance, in forecasting for Trans-Atlantic flying, Trans-Canada Airways, and the cross-country training manoeuvres of thousands of planes involved in the Commonwealth Air Training plan, Company men carried on the arduous work day in and day out. Arduous, because meteorological observations require the observer to be on the spot exactly on the minute, day in and day out, and in the case of the Fur Trade men, they had their own work to carry on as well.

Some of the posts that were, and are, considered key weather observing centres, are Fort Ross, N.W.T., Holman Island, N.W.T., Great Whale River, P.Q., Lansdowne House, Ont., Trout Lake, Ont., Little Grand Rapids, Man., and Norway House, Man. At these posts weather observations were taken (and still are), then transmitted via radio, by Fur Trade employees, three to ten times daily, day in and day out, for the past three to four years. This job of work was one that called for patience, perseverance, and accuracy, and never could it make the headlines due to the secrecy of the work. This secrecy was considered so important, that reports had always to be put in a special secret code that was altered several times yearly.

In November 1942, when radar and special radio communication equipment had become one of the main weapons of the war, it became necessary for the United Nations to intensify the complicated studies of the ionosphere* as related to radio wave propagation. This involved the establishing of twenty-four additional ionospheric research stations around the world in various latitudes.

The site of one of these stations was to be at Clyde, Baffin Island, three hundred miles north of the Arctic circle, and the U.S. Government, in consultation with the Canadian Government, decided that the Company should be approached with a view to carrying out the specialized work of planning and erecting northern buildings of a permanent nature at this location.

The Combined Communications Board of the Combined Chiefs of Staff gave the job of setting up the Clyde station to the Carnegie Institution's department of terrestrial magnetism at Washington, and its director, Dr. John A. Fleming, made a trip to Winnipeg in mid-March 1943 to discuss the question at Hudson's Bay House. The upshot of the matter was that the Company undertook to erect buildings for the station alongside its trading post at Clyde, and to ship supplies and equipment there on the *Nascopie*.

Once again the building division of the Fur Trade had to work against time, in order to have everything ready for the *Nascopie* when she left Montreal in early July. The job was a big one, for buildings had to be designed, materials obtained right down to the last screw, supplies for a year arranged, and suitable carpenters, etc., engaged who were capable of speedy, first class work. Such detailed planning was necessary because the project had to be completed in the few weeks elapsing between the *Nascopie* calling at Clyde on its way north, and the return call on the way south when the ice was starting to form.

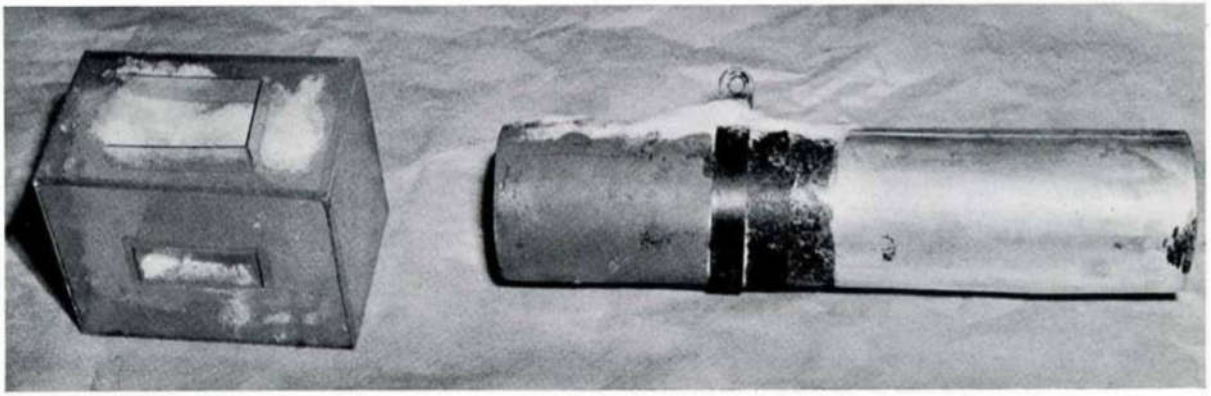
The work was completed in time, and when the *Nascopie* came south at the end of September, the U.S. scientists, who were to carry on the research work for the first year or two, were comfortably installed in buildings capable of standing all the extremes of the Arctic climate.

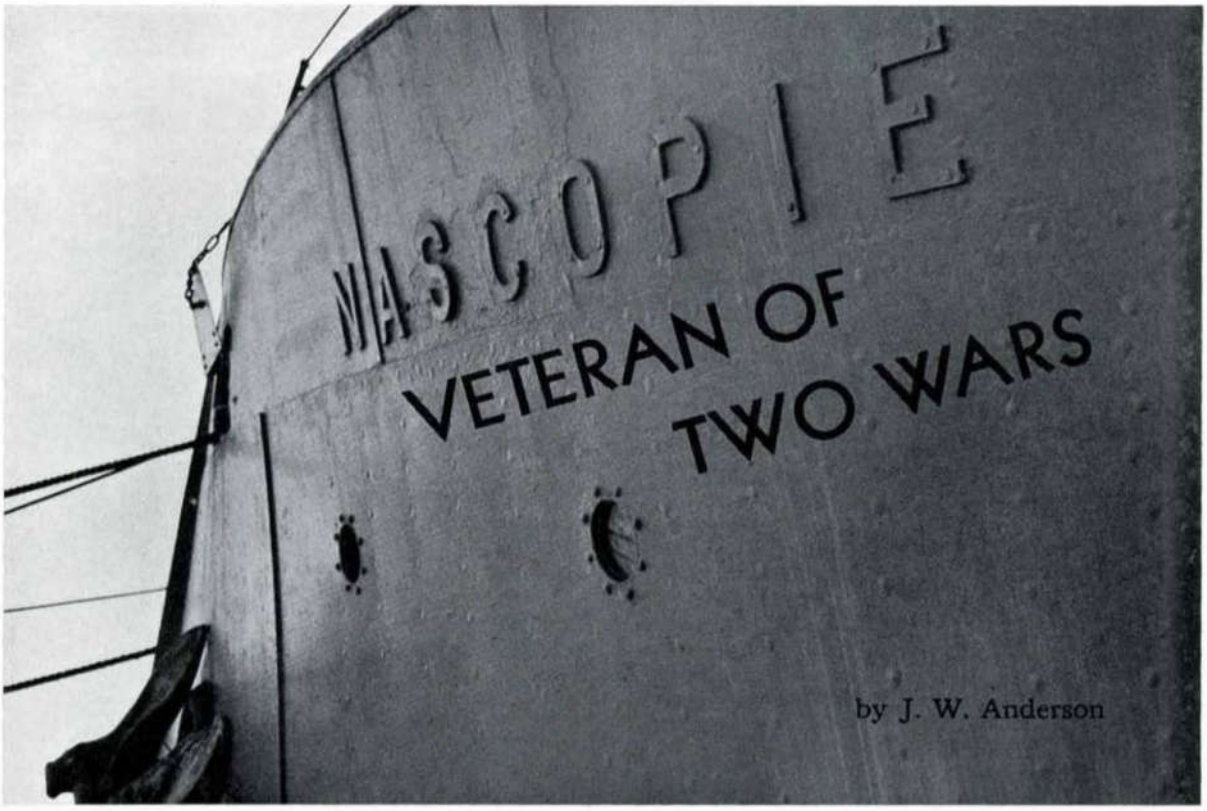
This article would hardly be complete, without telling of the finding, reporting, and picking up of the most easterly Japanese balloon to be found by one of the men of the North, or for that matter in Canada.

This was reported in April 1945 by the post manager of Oxford House, northern Manitoba, and as it was the first one to be found so far east, no arrangements had been made in that area by the authorities for the reporting and control of these deadly objects. However, the post manager very diplomatically sent a code message to the head office in Winnipeg, at the same time putting Indian guards on the balloon and attachments until he received further radio instructions. Head office speedily turned the matter over to the military authorities, and much radio traffic passed between Winnipeg and Oxford House, before the balloon and its bomb were taken over by the proper authorities. Great credit is due the various Fur Trade posts that handled all messages on this affair, as the daily newspapers did not even get a hint of what was taking place north of Winnipeg, thus justifying the faith the government had in the efficiency of the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade radio system, as well as in the integrity of the men operating it.

*The stratum of the atmosphere that returns radio waves to earth, thus enabling short wave radio transmissions to take place.

A Japanese incendiary bomb, cylindrical type, similar to that found near Oxford House. At left is a battery container, possibly to prevent freezing at high altitudes. *R.C.A.F. photo.*





All photos by J. W. Anderson

ON 3rd September, 1939 the good ship *Nascopie* was in Lancaster Sound when, over the BBC short-wave from London, we heard the words of Prime Minister Chamberlain announce the declaration of war with Germany. Exactly six years later, while again in the same far Arctic waters, and over the same BBC network, we heard the announcement of peace by Prime Minister Attlee.

During the years between, the *Nascopie* had made many hazardous voyages. Every summer she had run the gauntlet of submarines as well as icebergs, but now victory had been won, and we could proudly claim for our staunch old ship the distinction of being a veteran of two wars.

Built in 1911-12, she had weathered the storms and perils of the Arctic seas in the last war as well as in this. Last time, in addition to her annual voyage trading into Hudson's Bay, she had run with supplies and munitions to the White Sea. But she seemed to bear a charmed life, and she came unscathed through innumerable dangers, with one submarine to her credit.

During World War II she undertook additional work in Greenland and in the Caribbean; but here again the charm of her existence was very evident, for while other ships in her convoy would be lost, the good old *Nascopie* would sail safely into port.

On this 1945 voyage the weather was most kind to us, for it was one of the smoothest on record. As a result, the old ship made excellent time and several good runs were recorded, two of which—Pond Inlet to Clyde in twenty-six hours, and Clyde to Pangnirtung in fifty-five hours—are indeed outstanding. As a result of these favourable circumstances, the *Nascopie* ended her voyage in Montreal on September 26, which is the earliest, and first reasonably normal return date, since the outbreak of war.

We sailed from Montreal on July 7, and did not have to slow down for ice until we were approaching Lake Harbour, on the south coast of Baffin Island, only eight days later. At the Company post there, a colourful ceremony was performed, when "Eskimo Tommy" was presented with the Royal Humane Society Medal. The award was made for saving the life of Mrs. R. H. Kilgour in 1943, on the lamented occasion when her husband, Post Manager R. H. Kilgour, lost his life by drowning.

Here, too, as at every post visited, arrangements were made for the distribution of benefits under the Family Allowance Act.

Crossing the strait to Wolstenholme, we picked up Post Manager and Mrs. Frank Melton, who were retiring from the Fur Trade Department after many years in the Arctic. We reached there on July 21, which is, we believe, the earliest arrival date of the *Nascopie* at this historic post.

At Port Harrison, P.Q., Canon and Mrs. H. L. Shepherd and their little daughter Faith were put ashore, and Rev. S. H. L. Shaw, whom the canon is replacing, came aboard. From there we sailed straight across the ocean-like expanse of Hudson Bay to Churchill, Manitoba, where a group of passengers who had come up by rail from Winnipeg were waiting for us.

To look after the health of the Eskimos, the Government sent north this year an imposing group of doctors and technicians. The medical officers from Montreal to Churchill were the distinguished Ottawa practitioners, Drs. George MacCarthy and Campbell Laidlaw, who, at the conclusion of their assignment, flew from Churchill to Winnipeg. Dr. R. G. Hemmerich,

At the presentation to Eskimo Tommy, of the Royal Humane Society medal for bravery. Left: The "Mounties" parade in their scarlet tunics. L. to R., Cst. McLauchlin, Cpl. Stewart, Cst. Jeffers, Insp. Peacock, Cst. Cottell, Cst. Bates. Below: Tommy proudly wears his medal.

of Kitchener, Ontario, was dental officer throughout the voyage. At Churchill, Dr. Dennis Jordan of Toronto joined us again as ship's surgeon from there to Montreal. This season he was accompanied by George Medhurst as his technical assistant. On several occasions the doctor very kindly showed his excellent kodachrome movie of the 1944 voyage; and as was to be expected, he was again busy with his movie camera this voyage, when he took a few additional shots to be incorporated with last year's film.

The ocular group who also came aboard at Churchill included Dr. W. Crewson, oculist; F/L A. H. Tweedle, R.C.A.F., optometrist; and Mrs. M. Moeller, technician. When the *Nascopie* was steaming west on Lancaster Sound through ice-infested waters, history was made when three eye operations were performed on Eskimos by Dr. Crewson. One was for the removal of an eye, the other a "broad iridectomy and conjunctival flap," and the third a "pterygium removed from the left eye." This skilled ocular service was brought to our Eskimos through the kind cooperation of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind.

At Churchill, too, there took place the first baptism ever performed on board the *Nascopie*, when the infant son of Post Manager and Mrs. Chesley Russell was christened John Chesley by Rev. A. C. Herbert.

Our old friend, Major D. L. McKeand, M.C., who after some twelve annual voyages on the *Nascopie*, retired from his post as Government Officer-in-Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, was succeeded this summer by J. G. Wright. The Major, however, did make the second half of the voyage, from Churchill to Montreal. This was for the purpose of acting as presiding magistrate at two Eskimo trials, one at Chesterfield and one at Fort Ross. On both occasions Inspector J. A. Peacock, R.C.M.P., was prosecuting lawyer while Captain R. M. MacLeod was counsel for the defence.

The trial at Fort Ross was that of an Eskimo woman charged with the murder of her husband, Angootacoyomayo. The murder was committed about three years ago, but in 1943 the *Nascopie* had been unable to reach Fort Ross, where the woman was being held by Cst. Delisle of the R.C.M.P., and she was allowed to return to her friends. In 1944 it was the other way about—the *Nascopie* got there, but the woman didn't. This year, however, connections were made on schedule. The body of the murdered man had been taken from beneath a pile of rocks about four hundred miles away, wrapped in a blanket, and brought to Fort Ross for the inquest, which took place in the store with Mr. Wright as coroner.

In the evening the trial was held in the saloon of the *Nascopie*. Everything had to be translated from or into Eskimo, but after a three hour discussion, the charge was commuted from murder to manslaughter, and the woman was sentenced to a year in the custody of the R.C.M.P. The defence counsel's argument was based on the evidence that Angootacoyomayo was a poor hunter, and therefore a poor provider. In a land like the Arctic, where there is a constant struggle for existence, this point is all important. Now, for a year at least, his widow will not have to worry about being provided for.

For the last of many times, Capt. Smellie throws candies for a "scramble" at Pangnirtung.

On September 4, in Lancaster Sound, a ceremony took place commemorating the centenary of Franklin's last voyage. Off Beechey Island, where his ships *Erebus* and *Terror* spent the winter of 1845-6, and where Lady Franklin later had a memorial tablet erected, the *Nascopie's* ensign was lowered to half mast, and a wreath was cast into the sea by Captain Smellie, in memory of the brave explorer and the 135 officers and men who died on that ill-starred expedition. The invocation and the closing prayer were read by Rt. Rev. H. D. Martin, D.D., Bishop of Saskatchewan, who was deputizing for the Bishop of the Arctic on this voyage; Major McKeand gave a brief explanation of the ceremony about to be enacted; and a short address on the life and work of Sir John Franklin was given by a representative of the Company.

Five days later, the *Nascopie* reached the northernmost point of the 1945 voyage. It was the farthest north she had been since 1940, when we visited Craig Harbour, and Thule in Greenland. This time she dropped anchor in Dundas Harbour, on the north shore of Lancaster Sound, and there the old R.C.M.P. post was reopened. This post had been established as a police detachment in 1924, but it was closed in 1933. Next year the H B C rented the premises and conducted a trading post there until 1936 with Post Manager Chesley Russell in charge. The venture, however, proved unprofitable, and so the establishment remained vacant for nine years. With the re-establishment of the post, the Dundas Harbour post office was also reopened by the *Nascopie* Post Office representative, F. R. E. Sparks, and thus it becomes the most northerly post office in the British Empire.

The day of our stay at Dundas Harbour was calm, sunny and almost warm. Captain Smellie, accompanied by several of the passengers, made a forenoon expedition to the nearby historical cairn, inside which they left a record of the visit. Dundas Harbour and nearby Cape Warrender were well known to whaling ships of the nineteenth century, for here was the rendezvous for the first week of September when homebound ships took out the mail and those wintering set about searching for winter quarters. Several records of their visits are to be found in the cairn visited by the *Nascopie's* commander on this his last Arctic voyage.

We sailed away from Dundas Harbour, heading south, on a beautiful September evening with a lovely and colourful Arctic sunset on our starboard quarter. Behind us we left Cst. H. H. MacLeod and his assistant Cst. J. H. Biensch, R.C.M.P., to fly the flag at this farthest north outpost of Empire.

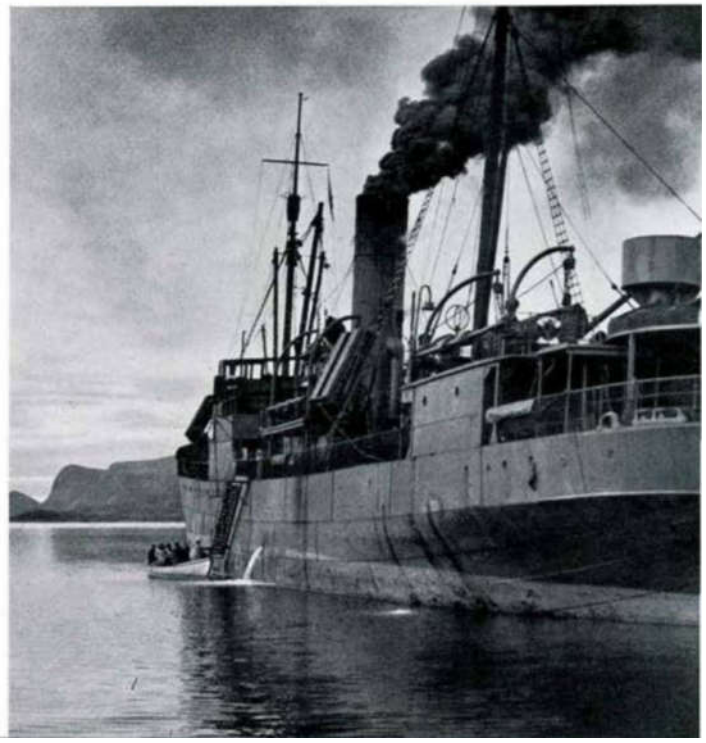
Seldom a summer goes by without a wedding on board the *Nascopie*, and this voyage was no exception. At Pond Inlet, in the saloon of the ship, the marriage of Post Manager A. T. Swaffield to Miss Mary Trent of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, was solemnized by the Bishop of Saskatchewan, assisted by his chaplain, Mr. Herbert. There also we took aboard Canon and Mrs. J. H. Turner, who were married at the post last year, and their infant daughter June, bound for Arctic Bay. The Roman Catholic clergy on this voyage were represented by Father P. Girard, O.M.I., who was making his last voyage of inspection.

The coming of peace, the freedom from ice, and the fine weather, made this voyage an especially happy one for us all. But a note of sadness was there too, for we knew that this was the last time we should sail under the command of Captain Smellie. Year after year his sure knowledge and his dexterous navigation had brought us safely through the dangers of ice-filled seas and treacherous tides and currents. For twenty-eight years he had been associated with his famous little ship, and now he was giving up a lifetime of seafaring to enter a well-deserved retirement.

Retiring with him was that other veteran of the sea, Chief Steward Arthur Reed. During the years they have been together, these two mariners have built up an Arctic service which for efficiency and passenger comfort will be hard to surpass. Both have carried the full burden of the day, and we wish them fair winds and clear sailing in their days of leisure.

Cst. H. H. MacLeod hoists the flag at the Empire's farthest north outpost, Dundas Harbour, while Postmaster Sparks looks on.

The *Nascopie*, still in her war grey and carrying her life rafts and anti-aircraft gun turret, anchored in Dundas Harbour.



Capt. Thomas F. Smellie, O.B.E., master of the *Nascopie*, who has made his last voyage to the Arctic.

ARCTIC MARINER

WHEN a ship makes as many as twenty-five voyages—each thousands of miles long—through the ice-choked waters of the Arctic without a single serious mishap, that's a record to be proud of. The Company which operates that ship certainly takes pride in it, and it is no less proud of the man who has been chiefly responsible for establishing that record—Captain Thomas Farrar Smellie, O.B.E.

Summer after summer, he has sailed from Montreal early in July, in command of the famous *Nascopie*—certainly the best known Canadian cargo ship of this era—and has taken her up to within twelve hundred miles—and sometimes a thousand miles—of the North Pole. On these annual voyages, the little ice-breaker-freighter has been held fast in the polar pack for days at a time, buffetted by mountainous seas, and shrouded in fog and blinding snow while great bergs drifted perilously by. But with Captain Smellie on the bridge, the passengers always knew that they were in the safest possible hands.

Arctic navigation is a science in itself, and there is no better exponent of it in Canada than this sturdy Yorkshireman. His experience of it goes back to 1914; but his seafaring experience goes back much farther than that—nearly twenty years farther, in fact.

He was only fifteen when, after studying navigation and nautical astronomy, he began his career of fifty years at sea. He served a four-year apprenticeship in square-rigged sailing ships, and in 1903 he qualified for the difficult Extra Master's Certificate, which entitled him to take command in both square-rigged ships and steamers. Having an eye to the future, he chose the latter. After a period as navigating officer on various steamships, including a Russian troopship, which later caught fire in the middle of the South Atlantic Ocean, Captain Smellie was appointed to his first command in 1909.

After the outbreak of war in 1914, he was introduced to the form of navigation with which his name is associated today. He took a Furness liner, loaded with war supplies, to the Russians at Archangel on the White Sea. Next year he was back on the Atlantic taking ammunition and war material from Canada and the States to England and France. On one of these trips he narrowly eluded a U-boat, and received congratulations from the Admiralty for saving his ship.

In December 1915 the ship Captain Smellie was commanding was transferred to the large Hudson's Bay Company fleet and given the name of *Baycross*. It was in this way that he entered the employ of the Company, which he served for the next thirty years.

In 1917 he was in command of the *Bayverdun* when in October he took over from Captain Mack at Montreal the semi-icebreaker *Nascopie*. This ship, of 2,500 tons gross, had been built especially for the Hudson's Bay Company's Arctic trade in 1911-12, and in June of 1917 she had sunk a German submarine in the White Sea. That first winter on his new ship, Captain Smellie took supplies to Archangel, and the following summer he made his first voyage into Hudson Bay. The next winter he was back again transporting troops and war material between Murmansk and Archangel. He continued in command of the *Nascopie* after peace was declared, making annual voyages from Britain to the Eastern Arctic. By 1928 the *Nascopie* had seen some rough service, and she was laid up in Scotland for three years while the voyage to Hudson Bay was made by a chartered vessel.

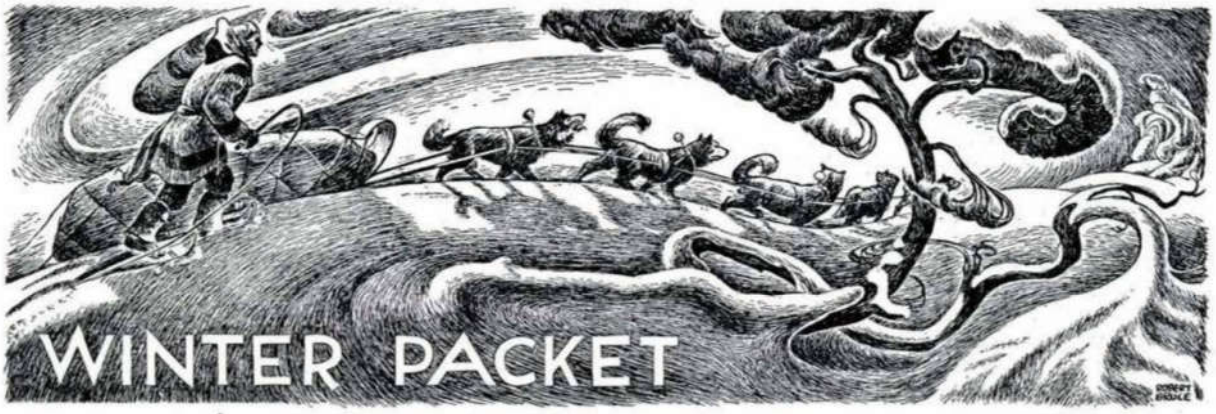
While she was laid up, Captain Smellie was busy in the Mackenzie River Delta finding a navigable channel and choosing a harbour—Tuktoyaktuk—which could be used for transferring supplies from river boats to ocean vessels. When in 1931 the *Nascopie* was commissioned again, he once more took command. The annual voyage from Britain to Hudson Bay, which had been made almost without interruption by Company ships since 1668, was discontinued in 1933 when the *Nascopie* sailed from Ardrossan on her last trans-Atlantic trip. From that time forward she operated from Montreal.

Trade prospered, and in 1937 the *Nascopie* sailed north to build Fort Ross. There she was met by the Company's schooner *Aklavik* coming from the Mackenzie, and thus the Northwest Passage was made commercially for the first time. Back in Halifax, Captain Smellie was awarded the King's Coronation Medal for his services on this voyage.

The *Nascopie's* service in the war has already been touched on in the previous article. She rendered yeoman service to the governments of Canada and the United States, and in December 1943 her captain was awarded the decoration of an Officer of the Order of the British Empire "For public service in connection with the Arctic as Commander of the Canadian steamship *Nascopie*."

Now, after thirty years with the Company, the Captain retires to Vancouver; but, as the *Montreal Star* wrote editorially, "few of the men who have sailed with him have any doubt that, come July and *Nascopie's* departure, Captain Smellie will be impatiently pacing his garden walk, thinking longingly of his tight little craft, of the wild storms in the narrow passes of the North, of his battles with ice and the joy his ship's arrival brought to every tiny port.

"The men who sailed with him will be thinking, too, of what his own contribution to northern navigation has been, the new charts to which he has contributed a wealth of knowledge sometimes dangerously acquired, and all the trips he has made as a master mariner without those mishaps which mean certain doom in the northern latitudes."



Martens for Her Majesty

To mark the 275th anniversary of the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company by the King of England, the Queen of England has accepted from the Company a gift of five matching marten skins. The Governor of the Company, Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, was summoned by the Queen to Buckingham Palace in August and there formally made the presentation. Her Majesty was pleased to express her appreciation of the gift, and at the same time graciously told the Governor of her interest in the Company's welfare.

Cover Picture

The painting reproduced on the cover of this issue was done by A. Sherriff Scott, R.C.A., for the Company's 1946 calendar. It shows a captain of the 6th Regiment of Foot driving on a bright March morning through the old north gate of Upper Fort Garry. On the left are two of the three buildings reserved for the H B C; on the right is the house reserved for the officers, which stood in the centre of the fort. When the fort was extended northwards in the 1850's, this gate and wall were demolished.

Scots Wha Hae

Trust the Gallic mind to find *les mots justes*. Discussing the James Bay country the other day, a French-Canadian newspaper report had this to say:

"La Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson possède plusieurs postes, ou les Indiens échangent les produits de leur chasse et de leur pêche contre les nécessités de la vie. Et dans ces postes on ne trouve que des Ecossais, dont la vie est dure et laborieuse et qui n'ont qu'une pensée, s'enrichir."

John West

The 125th anniversary of the arrival of Rev. John West, first ordained Protestant clergyman in western Canada, was celebrated at St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg, on October 14. West was the Church of England chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land from 1820-1823. He came by way of York Factory and arrived at Fort Douglas on October 14, 1820. Next day the "servants of the Company were assembled for Divine Worship" in one of the rooms—possibly that shown on page 36 of this *Beaver*.

John West founded a school and a mission at Red River. His house is shown on page 13 of this issue. He also travelled to Brandon House, Qu'Appelle, Pembina, York Factory, and Churchill. His first church, near the present cathedral, was a log building, opened for services in 1822.

The commemoration of his arrival at Fort Douglas was marked by special services and by the publication of an attractive illustrated booklet, *From Mission to Cathedral*.

Primus

The Primus stove is the Arctic traveller's friend, for in no time it can cook a meal or heat a snowhouse. In that land where no tree grows, it's a godsend. Now its fame has travelled even into the wilds of California, for the other day we had a letter from Mr. Walt Disney, asking if we could supply him with a sketch of said article. We sent him a cut from our fur trade catalogue, and it filled the bill. Now we are hopefully awaiting a Disney comic depicting the adventures of Mickey or Goofy in the land of the Eskimos.

And talking of Primuses, we heard recently of a retired fur trader who has spent so many years in the Arctic that lighting the little brass stove has become a sort of habit with him. So much so, that when he and his good wife set up housekeeping way down south in Ontario, his Primus went along, and now does duty as an auxiliary to the electric range.

Exercise Muskox

In 1848, as described in this issue of *The Beaver*, a body of British troops passed through Hudson Strait on their way home from Fort Garry. Since then, no British Empire troops have been as far north in Canada—except for detachments of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals who operate far northern radio stations. Next year, however, a body of Canadian troops will trek as far north as the Arctic Archipelago, testing out the efficiency of modern winter military equipment, clothing and food supplies.

The forces will be divided in two. The moving force will be under command of Lt.-Col. P. D. Baird, an experienced northerner, who made the *Nascopie* voyage last year as assistant to Major McKeand, and who last winter participated in the Canadian Army's "Exercise Polar Bear" in British Columbia, and commanded "Exercise Lemming" north of Churchill. He will take about fifty men in twelve tracked, over-snow troop-carriers, and, starting from Churchill in February 1946, will travel north to Eskimo Point, Baker Lake, Perry River, Cambridge Bay, and Denmark Bay on the northeast coast of Victoria Island. Then returning, the force will head for Coppermine, Port Radium, Norman Wells, Fort Simpson, Fort Nelson, and so back via the Alaska Highway to Dawson Creek and Edmonton. As the Company has posts at most of these places, they will doubtless be able to give assistance to the troops.

It is understood that the main base at Churchill will be transferred to Edmonton at the end of March and from there a sub-base will be established at Yellowknife while the moving force is operating in the Western Arctic.

The soldiers will live in tents, and in snowhouses where practicable, and will subsist on special winter rations. They are now taking a course at Shilo Camp, Manitoba, and soon will be heading north for Churchill, where a base camp of about 275 men will be established under command of Lt.-Col. J. D. Cleghorn, E.D., of the Black Watch (R.H.R.) of Canada. The moving force will be supplied with food and fuel by planes of the R.C.A.F., and will keep in touch with the bases by radio. R.C.A.F. participation in this exercise is on a par with that of the army, and is essential to supply the force on such an extensive move—totalling over 3,000 miles.

Nanaimo

To honour the founder of Nanaimo, on the east coast of Vancouver Island, a plaque was unveiled on the old H B C bastion in that city on September 16. The wording is as follows: "In Memory of Joseph William McKay (Mackay), 1829-1900, Fur Trader, Explorer, Legislator, founder of Nanaimo 1852. He built this bastion in 1853."

McKay was a clerk (later chief trader) in the service of the Company at Victoria, who was told by an Indian that there was plenty of "black stone," such as was used in the blacksmith's forge, near his home at Nanaimo Bay. McKay was sent to investigate, found the coal, and founded the city. At the commemoration ceremony, sponsored by the Native Sons of British Columbia assisted by the British Columbia Historical Society, the plaque was unveiled by his daughter, Miss Agnes McKay, and the chief address was given by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.

Scurvy Trick

Men who live in the Great Outdoors (as city dwellers quaintly refer to it) seem to become adept at the gentle art of leg-pulling. A story has come to us through the Fur Trade grapevine which tells of an earnest young army officer with an enquiring disposition and a southern accent who found himself away up on the shores of Hudson Bay among the Eskimos. These remarkable people fascinated him, and he tried to pack into his short stay all the information he could collect on their curious habits and characteristics.

He bombarded the resident post manager—whom he rightly supposed to be an authority on the subject—with a barrage of questions about the Eskimos' prehistory, thought processes, adaptability to an atomic world, and diet. The $64 question was: "How come the Eskimos never seem to get scurvy?"

By this time the post manager's mind was really ticking over, and, with hardly a pause for a thought process, he came right back with the answer. "It's this way," he explained. "The Huskies kill a lot of seals for food. The seal meat itself doesn't contain any vitamin C, but the seals eat a lot of seaweed which is chock full of it. When the Husky kills a seal he takes out the intestines, which are full of undigested seaweed, lays them out on the ground, and then starts squeezing out the seaweed like toothpaste out of a tube. Then he eats this like spinach, and that's why he never suffers from scurvy." Q.E.D.

Contributors

J. W. Anderson, who has served the Company in the Eastern Woodlands and the Arctic for more than thirty-five years, is manager of the Ungava Section of the Fur Trade, which the *Nascopie* supplies. . . . Marius Barbeau, F.R.S.C., ethnologist and folklorist with the National Museum of Canada, is known as a prolific writer on Canadian subjects and a frequent contributor to this magazine. . . . Burt Brown Barker, Ph.D., vice-president of the University of Oregon, is an authority on the history of the Company in the Pacific Northwest. . . . W. B. Cameron is well known to *Beaver* readers for his tales of the young West. . . . H. D. Dee is vice-principal of Victoria High School, in British Columbia's capital, and an authority on John Work. . . . S. G. L. Horner is supervisor of the radio division of the Fur Trade Department. . . . W. E. Ingersoll, a member of the editorial staff of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, specializes in the history of the Red River Settlement, and has been editing the Donald Ross letters which are now in the custody of the B.C. Archives. . . . Margaret MacLeod is a Winnipeg historian now editing a volume of H B C letters for the Champlain Society. . . . J. Milne, formerly manager of the Company's B.C. District, knows well the country traversed by the Alaska Highway. . . . E. Blanche Norcross is principal of the Cowichan Business College. Her brother breeds the black sheep whose wool is used in making the Cowichan sweater. . . . Grace Lee Nute is curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society. . . . Canon J. H. Webster is an Anglican missionary stationed at Coppermine. . . . J. P. de Wet is secretary of the Manitoba Chamber of Mines.

THE CITY OF LONDON, 1945

This London *Times* photo of the City of London after the air raids has been widely published, but we print it here once more, partly to show the position of Beaver House in regard to the rest of the City. 1 is the church of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, a ground-level view of which appeared in *The Beaver* for December 1941. 2 is the tower of the ruined church of St. Mary le Bow on Cheapside, from where the famous Bow Bells ring out. 3 is Beaver House (extreme right, surrounded by a white line). Five years ago, all the open spaces were covered thickly with buildings. *The Times copyright.*

NEW BOOKS

HITCH-HIKING THE ALASKA HIGHWAY, by Gertrude Baskine. Macmillans, 1944. 317 pages.

THE title of this book is very appropriate as it deals to a large extent only with Mrs. Baskine's troubles and worries in getting over the highway. She goes through practically the same experiences, with slight variations, at each camp along the road. This should be borne in mind by all who intend to read the book so that they will be prepared for much repetition.

Frankly, I was rather disappointed in it as I was expecting to run across some good stories of the North and at least a few facts concerning the construction of the highway and of the country it passes through. There is very little information given concerning the number and class of men who worked on the highway, the amount and type of equipment employed, the difficulties that had to be overcome, the type of country encountered, the possibilities of the land from a commercial point of view such as lumbering, mining, fur trading, fishing, tourist trade, etc. Censorship can hardly be blamed, as many facts concerning the Alaska Highway and the country it passes through have been published elsewhere. To one interested in the highway and the north country the book conveys little of any importance.—*J. Milne.*

FUR BRIGADE TO THE BONAVENTURA. John Work's California Expedition, 1832-1833, for the Hudson's Bay Company. Edited by Alice Bay Maloney, with a foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton, San Francisco. California Historical Society, 1945. 134 pages.

IN these two journals by John Work, which have been edited by Mrs. Maloney, we find portrayed a typical trapping expedition of the Hudson's Bay Company. This was the type of expedition which had been led by Work's predecessor, Peter Skene Ogden, after whom so many places on the Pacific slope have been named. This was the same type of expedition which Work, himself, had led in 1830-31 into the Snake River area, and in 1831-32 to Clark's Fork and the headwaters of the Missouri River. All of these were the last of the large scale trapping expeditions; when, equipped with saddle and pack horse, laden down with supplies and traps, and accompanied by their women and children, the Hudson's Bay men set out into the wilderness for a year. All of Work's expeditions mentioned stemmed from headquarters at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia; all made Walla Walla their point of departure into the field.

The two journals edited by Mrs. Maloney are, in their way, quite unique. They describe in a colourful and minute fashion the journey overland from the Columbia to the Sacremento, and thence along the river banks to San Francisco Bay. They deal with the days when the vastnesses of Old Oregon were known to but a few fur traders, and when the gold of California lay undiscovered beneath their feet. They describe Work's contacts with the Spanish and the Russian settlements in the Bay area. They throw added light on the expedition of the American, Ewing Young, whose path Work's trappers crossed. They tell of the trials and difficulties of the trail, of the epidemic which beset the little company and jeopardized its safety. In a way these journals are a silent tribute to the heroism of the leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose competence, diplomacy, and stern justice made them respected among the turbulent tribes of the West.

The text of the journals, after close comparison with the originals, is fairly accurate. It seems just a little unfortunate that Mrs. Maloney did not modernize the punctuation of the journals so that some of Work's involved sentences might be the easier to read. Moreover, the volume would be more readable if the notes were entered as footnotes and not relegated to the back of the book.

Too many typographical and factual errors mar Mrs. Maloney's work. A few of these must serve to illustrate. On page viii, "Word" should read "Work." In note 16, on page 85, the reference should be page 534. The name of such an outstanding explorer as that of Alexander Mackenzie is misspelled. Work's youngest daughter, Josette, was born in 1854, and not in 1843, as stated. Besides these weaknesses, the apparent necessity of compressing the introduction into limited space has laid the editor's statements open to question and misinterpretation. It might have been better had Mrs. Maloney not attempted the inclusion of much supplementary material in her book, so that she could concentrate on the two most important elements in it, the biographical and descriptive introduction, and the text of the journals.

The appendix contains a hitherto unpublished letter of Work's from the archives of the Company. The original journals are to be found in the Archives of British Columbia.—*H. D. Dee.*

BRAWN AND BRAINS, The Adventures of an International Contractor, by Franklin Remington. Bruce Humphries, Boston, and Ryerson Press, Toronto. 1945. 212 pages.

READERS of the *Beaver* will remember the two stories by Mr. Remington in the issues for September 1943 and December 1944, describing his trip from Winnipeg to London via York Factory in 1888. These two articles were really halves of one consecutive story, which forms one of the chapters in this book of memoirs. Mr. Remington, former head of the great engineering firm, the Foundation Company, has led an active and adventurous life in many parts of the world, and he tells about it in an urbane and virile style wholly suited to the subject.

The book begins with schooldays in England, then goes on to college days at Harvard, the York Factory trip, and the author's first steps in the engineering profession. This takes him to various parts of the States, then to Turkey, Italy, the Balkans, Spain, and Denmark, in all of which countries he does business with some highly interesting characters.—*C.W.*

Christmas Message from the Governor

IN this great anniversary year of our Company we have seen the end of two terrible wars. Now Christmas takes its rightful place again as the Festival of Peace, closing the old year with thankfulness and heralding the new with promise.

To all of you, wherever you may be, I send sincerest greetings: to those who, for the first time after long absence, meet around their own firesides: to those whose Christmas is one happy day nearer reunion. And to those who can only sit in sorrow and remembrance I send my deepest sympathy.

I know you will all join with me in giving to them this pledge: that we shall not fail in the new struggle that must now begin to build a world worthy of their sacrifice.

In that spirit we shall enter the New Year. Through that spirit we shall hold fast to the peace for which so many gave their all.

A Pipe of Peace

Peace on Earth will be the keynote of this Christmas of 1945. And what better way to conjure up the spirit of goodwill toward men than in the lazily drifting smoke from a pipeful of this mellow tobacco.

As the braves of old gathered around their campfires and recounted their adventures in war, so will many a warrior, returning to his fireside this Christmas, recall the fury of battles now happily past, over this modern Pipe of Peace.

IMPERIAL MIXTURE

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